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The Shape of Things

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S MASTERLY SPEECH was not only a tonic for the peoples of the United Nations but a major stroke in the war of nerves which Britain has been waging against Hitler with increasing success in the past few months. Answering, in effect, Hitler's recent Reichstag address, the British Prime Minister reminded the Germans that their rulers had deliberately used terror methods in smashing Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Belgrade from the air, and had done their worst to "rub out" Britain. Now that the boot was on the other foot and the R. A. F. in a position to give the Germans an object lesson in aerial warfare, it was a little late, Mr. Churchill said, for Hitler to start whining. He promised that British fliers, soon to be reinforced by American men and machines, would attack systematically the many German cities where vital war industries were established, and he warned civilians in these places that the only way to escape was to abandon the factories and flee into the fields. Mr. Churchill also dealt trenchantly with Hitler's tentative offer to make peace with the West for the sake of a joint crusade against Asia. Again and again he referred with admiration and gratitude to the valiant stand of the Russians, and he emphasized the solidarity between Britain and the U. S. S. R. by warning Hitler that should he in desperation resort to the use of gas on the eastern front, the growing superiority of the R. A. F. would be used to carry gas warfare "on the largest possible scale, far and wide, against military objectives in Germany." It is to be hoped that this threat of retaliation, which it is understood was provoked by accumulating evidence of German preparations for launching gas attacks in Russia, will restrain even the Nazis from attempting this ultimate horror in warfare.

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THE TONE OF MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH WAS buoyant, and there was a welcome absence of the irritable reaction to criticism which has marred some of his recent utterances. While carefully refraining from indorsing demands for a second front, he applauded the aggressive spirit reflected by the popular agitation for bolder action. Two members of his Cabinet, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Anthony Eden, went somewhat farther last week by

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hinting that the present British air offensive is merely a prelude to an invasion. The former promised that the tempo of R. A. F. onslaughts on Germany would be constantly increased throughout the summer with a view to breaking down German production and morale and hammering the Luftwaffe out of shape. Whether this strategy, together with commando raids on an ever larger scale and the constant threat of a full-fledged expedition against the Continent, will suffice to curtail the effectiveness of the German armies in the east remains to be seen. But at least the much-advertised spring offensive seems to be having difficulty in getting off the mark. A four-day German drive against the key position of Kerch in the eastern Crimea, which seemed to herald the opening of a new campaign, has been beaten back with heavy losses. The chief German offensive operations at present are directed toward securing the rear by wiping out opposition in the occupied lands. But no threats of "implacable violence" backed by mass executions serve to daunt the "V" front. From the North Cape to Mt. Olympus, from St. Nazaire to the Carpathians, the partisans of freedom are waging ruthless war against the Nazis. The tales of sabotage, train wrecking, assassinations, and bombings pour in, and for every victim of the firing squads a dozen volunteers spring forward. Hitler is being given no breathing spell to digest his conquests.

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THE BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA APPEARS TO have ended in a decisive victory for the United Nations. The communiqués issued by both sides make it difficult to know exactly what the outcome was, and as long as the enemy does not know, we can restrain our curiosity; but as there have been no reports of further large-scale landings by Japanese forces, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Japanese foray was indeed set back. This is most encouraging news. For in previous naval encounters the Japanese pressed on to their objectives regardless of losses. From a psychological point of view, the triumph could not have come at a better moment. The fall of Corregidor, coming immediately after the Japanese triumph in Burma, marked the low point for the United Nations' cause in the Pacific war. Symbolically, Corregidor meant even more than Bataan. It had come to be referred to, mistakenly perhaps, as the Gibraltar of the East. As long as it stood, it robbed Japan of the "face" that otherwise was to be derived from the conquest of the Philippines. But for most Americans its symbolic value has in no way been dimmed by its fall after five months of heroic defense. Pearl Harbor and Wake Island may stand for incompetence and unpreparedness, but Bataan and Corregidor will go down in history as symbols of the courage and determination of American and Filipino troops in the face of overwhelming odds.

BY UNDERTAKING DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS with Admiral Robert, French High Commissioner at Martinique, regarding the effective neutralization of French Caribbean possessions the State Department has neatly sidetracked Pierre Laval. The Vichy Gauleiter is reported to be very much upset by this treatment, and he has instructed his ambassador in Washington to express displeasure. If, as seems probable, Mr. Hull rejects this protest, there is not much Laval can do except break off relations with the United States—a step which he is clearly afraid to take. No official information is yet available regarding the kind of guaranties for which the State Department is asking, but according to Washington reports they may include the leasing to the United States of strategic points in Martinique, which presumably will be occupied by American garrisons, the immobilization of French naval units in the Caribbean, and the requisition of French planes and tankers now at Fort de France. As the New York *Herald Tribune* has pointed out, the concessions made by the Vichy government to Japan in Indo-China provide ample precedents for such steps as these. Remembering that there is a good deal of evidence of Admiral Robert's fascist sympathies, we hope that the State Department will not be too easily satisfied. With Axis submarines roaming the Caribbean we cannot afford to take chances in Martinique and Guadeloupe. There is every indication that the State Department is no longer in the mood to accept mere promises, but it is rather disquieting that its representative in the negotiations should be Samuel Reber, putative father of the phrase "the so-called Free French."

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THE ECLIPSE OF *SOCIAL JUSTICE* IS A TRIUMPH for the orderly processes employed by the Attorney General in proceeding against this fascist mouthpiece. Father Coughlin cannot possibly cry persecution, since every safeguard of the democratic process was put at his disposal. That he decided to go out of business rather than face the government's charges is an interesting indication that he had nothing to say that could not be used against him. We are glad the hearings on the case are continuing, even though the chief defendant has scuttled and run. But why has Coughlin himself not been subpoenaed along with his editor and office boy and personal secretary? We hope his abject surrender has not provided him with any *ex post facto* immunity. He is still the person responsible for whatever seditious words appeared in *Social Justice*.

*

REDUCTION IN INCOME-TAX EXEMPTIONS AS proposed by Secretary Morgenthau must be regarded as an integral part of the Administration's anti-inflation program. As we have repeatedly pointed out, inflation can be avoided only if the excess purchasing power generated by the war can be mopped up by increased taxa-

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tion. The Treasury's original program was not drastic enough for this purpose, and—from the standpoint of practical politics—it is clear that if we are to have additional taxation we must choose between broadening the tax base and levying a general sales tax. Many persons still regard a cut in exemptions as "taxing the little fellow," and it is true that a $300 cut in the exemption for a married couple and a $100 cut in that for each child will place an increased burden on millions of families with moderate incomes. But unlike the sales tax it will not strike at the lowest-income groups, the lowest third in our population, and it will be applied progressively, in accordance with ability to pay. This may be seen in the fact that only $100,000,000 of the $1,100,000,000 which is expected to be obtained through lowering the exemptions will come from new taxpayers, while $1,000,000,000 will come from present taxpayers. Congress will be reluctant to adopt Mr. Morgenthau's suggestion in an election year, but the alternative—a sales tax or inflation—is so obviously worse that we cannot see how any Congressman can face his constituency if he votes against the Treasury's proposals, which have received impressive support from Leon Henderson.

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A SHOWDOWN ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE War Labor Board was avoided by a close margin last week when President Charles E. Wilson of the General Motors Corporation receded from his original position and accepted the board's ruling on the continuation of previous contract arrangements. A break was imminent when General Motors announced that it was discontinuing double pay for Sunday pending the negotiation of the new contract. While the union had already agreed to waive the double-pay clause in the new agreement, this concession was contingent on a pay increase which would compensate the workers, at least in part, for their loss. The WPB had in effect supported the workers in ruling that the contract should be considered by the board as a whole and that double pay should be continued until the board had a chance to hear the case. In defying the board's order, the General Motors Corporation issued a public statement declaring that the ruling "was based on an ex parte consideration." When members of the WLB pointed out to Mr. Wilson that he was in effect challenging the whole principle of settling war labor issues by mediation, he finally capitulated and admitted that he did not know what an "ex parte hearing" was, but he was satisfied that "nobody was taking an unfair advantage" of anyone else. His capitulation brought to a rather ignominious close a nation-wide press and radio campaign against the WLB which had been started in anticipation of a showdown. But though this campaign, like the earlier drive against the forty-hour week, has been frustrated, the undercover war against organized labor continues unabated.

THE EDUCATION OF UNITED STATES STEEL, spoiled child of American capitalism, proceeds. Its subsidiary, the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, has accepted the War Labor Board's order to grant the "maintenance-of-membership" clause in the contract it is about to sign with its employees. It has done so, according to its president, L. H. Korndorff, only because of the war emergency. Whatever the motive, Federal's acceptance not only of the much-debated clause but of the authority of the War Labor Board is good news. It increases the prestige of the board, and it is bound to have its effect on other corporations, among them Inland Steel, which expects to be faced with a similar order. The action of Federal must have been particularly disappointing to Clarence B. Randall, vice-president of Inland, who was suggesting, just the other day, a new wrinkle in anti-union technique. His company, he said, might poll its 8,500 stockholders before deciding whether or not to accept maintenance of membership. (We couldn't help wondering whether stockholders had ever been consulted when the salaries of vice-presidents were raised; but that, of course, is an astronomical question about which stockholders could not possibly have an opinion.) Mr. Randall went on to say, among other things, that he was "awfully fed up" with labor's claim to credit for surrendering the right to strike. "They ought to be jailed if they do strike." The prospect of being taken into federal custody for the second time certainly seems to have chastened Mr. Korndorff.

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THE ELECTION OF DR. ALFONSO LOPEZ TO the Presidency of Colombia is good news, contrasting pleasantly with the disquieting reports that continue to emanate from Argentina and Peru. Some people in Washington have found Dr. Lopez a difficult associate to work with, and the proverbial harshness of his criticisms of pan-American policy has even given him a reputation of hostility to the United States. The truth is that he has exercised a justifiable reserve toward those official elements who would like to establish inter-American solidarity on a one-way basis, asking full cooperation from the Latin American countries while avoiding consideration of their economic and political difficulties. As President of Colombia from 1934 to 1938, Dr. Lopez made a good record of progressive statesmanship; it is encouraging that at this critical moment the Colombian people have elected him for a second time. One can rely on his anti-fascist position to produce a more healthy situation in Colombia than exists in Argentina and Peru, where the pro-Axis elements are moving full speed ahead despite official-dinner declarations. At this moment the Argentine government has taken special pains to announce the "warm reception" that is awaiting the Phalangist delegation now on its way to Buenos Aires to

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negotiate a new trade agreement between the fascist mother Spain and her favorite fascist daughter on the River Plate.

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A FREE PRESS IS NEVER MORE NECESSARY than in time of war, and newspapermen on this side of the Atlantic rise to cheer the fight of their British colleagues against gags on the press in the United Kingdom. It is to Britain's credit that these are so few, as it is to the honor of its journalists that they are fighting so courageously against first infringements on their liberty. All sections of the press were represented at a recent Fleet Street meeting which protested against continued suppression of the *Daily Worker,* the threat to halt publication of the critical *Daily Mirror,* and petty restrictions of censorship. The ban on the *Worker* at a time when Russia is Britain's ally was properly described as an anomaly, and a resolution was passed calling for cancelation of Section 2-d of the British Defense Regulations, which empowers the government to silence critical editors. The need to step hard on the genuinely subversive and to act against those publications linked with the enemy is recognized in war time. It depends on an aroused and vigilant public in Britain, as here, to see that this is not made an excuse for gagging publications which are critical of the government.

China Must Be Helped

THE rather surprising success scored by the Chinese forces under General Stilwell in repelling the Japanese unit which had invaded China by way of the Burma road has, for the moment at least, relieved the situation in that area. But in view of the length of the lines of communication, it is doubtful whether Japan ever intended a major invasion of China through its back door. Regardless of the setback at Chefang, the Japanese have achieved the main purpose of their campaign—the closing of China's one practical supply route from the outside world. Barring a major victory which will reopen the route through Lashio and Mandalay, China's plight is desperate. Deprived of all supplies, it might continue its resistance for six months or a year but it could not hope to hold out indefinitely. For while remarkable progress has been made in developing an arms industry in the interior of China, the country is entirely dependent on its allies for artillery, planes, trucks, machinery, and many kinds of medical supplies. Its stocks of these are limited and inadequate and must be replenished.

From statements issued in Washington the American public has obtained the impression that we shall merely have to use other, perhaps less satisfactory, routes in supplying China, and that in any event Chinese genius will surmount the problem. This is a false and dangerous supposition. The Chinese have shown great courage and endurance in opening up their supply routes to the outside world, but there literally is no route to replace the Burma road. Several roads are under construction, but they are long, roundabout, and still far from completion. At best, they will carry only a small fraction of the goods that were beginning to move on the Burma road. And China cannot wait until 1943 or 1944; it must have supplies in 1942.

There is, of course, one remaining overland supply route to a United Nations base. That is the long desert road from Lanchow across Sinkiang to Soviet Turkestan. Although far from being a modern artery of transportation, this is a perfectly feasible route. Before Hitler's attack on Russia, a very considerable amount of Soviet war materials was regularly brought in along this road. Some aid is apparently still reaching China from Russia, but Russia's own needs and transport problems along the Turk-Sib Railway have reduced it to a trickle. Although the distances are tremendous, American supplies could be shipped via Archangel or the Persian Gulf into China along this route. But before such a supply line could be set up, vast technical problems would have to be overcome. Large quantities of transport equipment would have to be shipped to Russia, and technicians sent out to organize traffic on the new route as it was organized on the Burma road.

More feasible for the immediate future is the development of a system of air transportation. By the use of large, modern transport planes almost everything that China needs could be taken in. Heavy equipment could be transported in parts and assembled in China. Already some planes are operating by way of India. A more feasible route would be from Alaska to Siberia and thence over the desert to northwestern China. The organization of such an aerial ferry service would be a tremendous undertaking. As Admiral Yarnell, formerly commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet, has pointed out, it would require thousands of our largest planes. In view of the tremendous demand for planes on other fronts, there is grave danger that we shall fail to provide the necessary equipment. Our past record in supplying China is far from reassuring. But in this instance we dare not fail. Keeping China in the war is important not only to the Chinese, who have fought so stubbornly for five years, but to our own war strategy. As long as Russia remains neutral in the Pacific war, China provides the only nearby base from which Japan can be attacked directly. Failure to take advantage of China's tremendous resources and favorable geographic position might prolong the war for years. No cost and no temporary sacrifice at home, such as might arise from the diversion of planes from our domestic transport, should be allowed to stand in the way of all-out aid to the country which has shown us how to fight Japan.

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Rubber from the Farm

THANKS to the Gillette committee and its able young counsel, Paul E. Hadlick, the nation has been afforded a glimpse of hitherto unrealized possibilities in the making of synthetic rubber. The Gillette committee is a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and its assignment is to find uses for farm surpluses in the war-production program. Other investigating committees, notably Senator Truman's, have given us a broader knowledge of the way in which the synthetic-rubber program has lagged behind the needs of the emergency. Gillette's is the first to show us new ways of making the synthetic product. The most important of these is its manufacture from ethyl alcohol, made in turn from surplus corn or wheat.

Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, in his testimony before the Gillette committee, reported that on July 1 our carry-over of wheat alone would be 630,000,000 bushels. This year's crop is expected to bring the total supply to a billion and a half bushels. This is enough for two years' normal supply. "About 80,000,000 bushels of wheat or corn," Secretary Wickard said, "would be required to produce 200,000,000 gallons of alcohol, which in turn could produce 220,000 tons of butadiene. This would make approximately 240,000 tons of synthetic rubber," which would be roughly a third of our military needs during the coming year.

The making of synthetic rubber from grain alcohol would have a second advantage. The lack of shipping to bring molasses from Cuba has left most of the great commercial-alcohol plants of the East idle. These plants normally make alcohol from molasses, as the whiskey distillers normally make it from grain. The commercial-alcohol plants could easily be converted to the use of grain. "Relatively small amounts of copper and steel" would be required. Over and above all war requirements for alcohol, now being met largely from the whiskey distilleries, facilities now idle could handle 200,000,000 gallons of alcohol. Testimony by Simon Neuman, president of Publicker Commercial Alcohol, the one big independent in the business, is authority for the statement that synthetic rubber could be produced in nine months by this method, as compared with the eighteen months or more which will be required to build and begin to operate the new plants called for in the RFC's 800,000-ton program. Rubber made from grain alcohol would require much less in the way of critical materials.

So far the 800,000-ton program worked out by Jesse Jones and the dollar-a-year men in charge for the WPB provides for only one plant to make rubber from alcohol. The company which will operate the plant, Union Carbide and Carbon, makes ethyl alcohol synthetically from petroleum and natural gas, but may make some alcohol from grain as a sop to farm sentiment. The other companies, all linked to Standard Oil, the du Ponts, the Big Four rubber companies, the Mellon interests, and their allies, will make rubber from petroleum. While butadiene can be made directly from ethyl alcohol with little special equipment, the rubber program as now developing will require new petroleum-cracking facilities and new plants to turn butane, a petroleum by-product, into butadiene. This will bring the program into competition with aviation gas and synthetic toluol production, both of which are also dependent on the same sources in petroleum.

Just as Standard Oil and I. G. Farben long divided the world of synthetic oil and chemicals between themselves to restrict competition, so Standard and du Pont and the Mellon interests are determined today to keep the synthetic-rubber program in their own hands. Standard controls United States Industrial Alcohol, one of whose former executives, Fraser Moffet, is "dollar-a-year man" in charge of alcohol at the War Production Board. The commercial-alcohol combine fears the competition of synthetic rubber from grain alcohol. Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union have all successfully made synthetic rubber from grain or potato alcohol. The Soviets' large synthetic-rubber industry is based on a process of this sort. But unless pressure is applied by the farm bloc and by an informed public opinion we shall go on planning to make our synthetic rubber by the slowest and costliest route—but the one preferred by the allied oil-rubber-alcohol-and-chemical companies. In their thinking monopoly still comes first.

The People's Revolution

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TWO meetings held in New York over the past week-end crystallized, through discussion and plans for action, a good many of the ideas that have been demanding concrete expression in the minds of progressive Americans. One was the second conference of the International Free World Association; the other was the Eastern Regional Conference of the Union for Democratic Action. In these gatherings were to be found a selection of the men and women whose opinions must dominate the waging of the war and the making of the peace if both are to be successful.

The delegates to the Free World meeting included many leaders of the democratic forces of the old and new worlds—Free Frenchmen, free Spaniards, free Hungarians and Austrians and Germans, free Czechs, representatives of China and India, Scandinavians, North and South Americans. Exiles from fighting enemy nations consulted with one another and with representatives of conquered nations and neutrals. They discussed

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the war and the peace to follow; and in the discussions one heard no discordant theories, no conflicting nationalistic claims. "Free World" is a name that lifts men above the maneuvers of foreign offices and the ambitions of politicians to a level on which the common human demand for mutual protection and individual freedom sounds normal, not fantastic or sentimental. But the delegates knew what they were facing in the struggle to achieve that sort of world; many of them had felt the impact of terror and tyranny on their own bodies, in their own emotions. All of them had experienced the cautious cynicism which so frequently informs the official acts of governments—even those committed to the fight for freedom. All of them knew the immense power of the elements of disruption working, consciously and unconsciously, in the interests of the dictators.

The Union for Democratic Action brought together the same sorts of people, men and women who combine a passionate determination that the war must be won with a belief that it can be won only if it is geared to democratic techniques and aims. The U. D. A. is primarily interested in the American aspects of the struggle, and its members are mostly Americans. With an eye to immediate practical needs, it has organized for action on a nation-wide scale in the coming Congressional elections. The Washington office, headed by Tom Amlie, former Progressive Congressman from Wisconsin, has compiled a handbook on the elections—both issues and men—which is this week published as a supplement to the *New Republic*. The New York office, with Dr. Frank Kingdon in charge, will serve as a campaign headquarters from which information and other sorts of ammunition will be issued to all groups and individuals fighting to put out or keep out of Congress men who oppose the war or try to pervert it into a campaign against democratic victory.

I thought, as I listened to the plans laid at both meetings, how close is the unity that exists among the varied elements fighting this many-sided battle for a free world. Their backgrounds may be as different as Chungking and Des Moines, but their common understanding of the meaning of the fascist drive for world dominion insures general agreement on what must be done to defeat it. They may differ on details, but you don't find them disagreeing on fundamentals—the failure, past and present, of policies of appeasement; the necessity of a powerful responsible labor movement closely integrated into the war effort; the desperate need for continuous, politically informed propaganda emerging from clear-cut war aims to which the common people of all countries can rally. You find them united in demanding "total" methods of warfare—methods which utilize every resource of power, human and mechanical, without regard for peace-time concepts of property rights or privilege. You find them recognizing the wary attitude of the majority of bureaucrats of every rank and country toward militant democrats and a democratic program. Patiently, almost cynically, the anti-fascist elements accept this attitude as inevitable, discussing only the means that can be employed to counter it, to multiply the number of democrats in office, and to strengthen the hands of those already in positions of power.

At the dinner held by the Free World Association on Friday evening a thousand guests heard the Vice-President of the United States deliver a speech which deserved full reproduction in the newspapers next day. Only *PM*, among the New York papers, printed it. It was covered very briefly by the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* in stories emphasizing Mr. Wallace's suggestion that Japan might strike at Alaska and our northwest coast "at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America," and his warning that "we must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth-column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments [a clear reference to Vichy and particularly Madrid] with which the United States is at present at peace." This was a striking passage, but it was incidental to the point of Mr. Wallace's speech. The Vice-President, in the boldest analysis of the meaning of the war to come from any high official of this country, declared that "the people's revolution is on the march." He made it plain what forces seek to stop that revolution—the fascists and reactionaries, here and abroad, who fear the drive of the common people toward wider education, better control of the tools of production, greater power through their own organizations. The "people's revolution" offers the only real opposition to Hitler's fascist revolution, which from the day of the burning of the books, just nine years ago this week, revealed its inner purpose—to establish universal tyranny on the ashes of free thought and free inquiry.

The people's revolution *is* on the march, and it is the function of such organizations as the Free World Association and the Union for Democratic Action to provide it with leadership and a coherent program—in war and in peace, in America and for the world. These organizations must grow, because they fill a pressing need. The Union for Democratic Action is launching locals in many cities; the Free World Association, already well established as an international body with sections in China and England and Latin America, has announced the formation of an American section which will seek members throughout the United States. I warmly commend both organizations to every reader of *The Nation*. Join them; help spread their ideas and carry forward their programs. They are the natural instruments through which democratic opinion in this country can make itself heard and felt.

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Rockefeller's Girl Friday

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 11

MRS. ANNA M. ROSENBERG'S dual employment by the New Deal and the Rockefeller family has long been a subject of gossip and criticism in the capital. The House Appropriations Committee and Louis Stark of the New York *Times* performed a public service when they brought out the facts. Mrs. Rosenberg's entrée to the White House and her well-publicized position as a Presidential adviser are assets she can hardly keep from capitalizing in her private business as public-relations and labor-relations counselor. Her work for the Macy-Bamberger stores and for I. Miller, the shoe dealer, seems politically innocuous, but it is disturbing to have her shuttle between Pocantico Hills and the White House. Standard Oil has entirely too much influence in the New Deal, and Mrs. Rosenberg ought to choose between F. D. R. and Mammon.

The law already prohibits a federal official from practicing as a lawyer before a federal agency. We hope the House Appropriations Committee will keep its promise to write a provision forbidding federal administrative officials to hold jobs outside the government. Mrs. Rosenberg's excuse for the $28,500 she draws from private employment while receiving $7,500 a year as New York regional director of the Social Security Board is a naive one. Mrs. Rosenberg says she took the government job on condition that she be allowed to continue her work as private consultant. A judge might similarly accept a position on the bench on condition that he be allowed to continue to serve several clients as private counsel.

Mrs. Rosenberg's private employment and public influence can hardly be separated. She admits that she has been receiving $6,000 a year from Nelson Rockefeller as his public-relations representative "since long before he became Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs." Mrs. Rosenberg played a major part in making Nelson Rockefeller Coordinator, and after Colonel William J. Donovan became Coordinator of Information, one of his first visitors was Mrs. Rosenberg. Mrs. Rosenberg wanted to be sure that Colonel Donovan did not muscle in on the territory of her boy Nelson. Nelson Rockefeller's high standing in Washington is the best kind of "public relations" for the Standard Oil crowd and the Chase National Bank.

These are not the only complications in Mrs. Rosenberg's dual position. She is a private labor-relations consultant. She is also a powerful New Deal politician. Can she separate the two in specific labor cases? She was powerful enough to help keep Sidney Hillman from becoming head of the new Man Power Commission and to get the job instead for her government boss, Paul McNutt. Mrs. Rosenberg is admittedly an able woman, but is she hired by business and by government only for her ability or for her influence as well? This is the question to which her ambiguous position exposes her.

If the House Appropriations Committee does a thorough job, it will also recognize the quasi-public character of a party's National Committee when that party is in power. Oscar Ewing is still counsel for the Aluminum Company of America and vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Obviously the mere fact that he holds that powerful political position must have some influence on the officials with whom he must deal on behalf of Alcoa. The principle involved was recognized when Lawrence ("Chip") Robert had to choose between his private contracting business with government agencies and his position as Democratic national committeeman from Georgia. It is time that this principle was written into law.

Say Thank You to the Power Trust, Adolf. The purpose of the Tydings "economy" campaign has little to do with economy. The anti-New Dealers, unable to abolish the social-reform agencies, seek to destroy them by cutting their appropriations. The outstanding example of this technique is the McKellar amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriation bill passed last week by the Senate. This amendment abolishes the revolving fund the TVA has had since 1935 and forces TVA to turn in its revenue monthly to the Treasury and to go to Congress for any proposed expenditure, no matter how small. Administration Leader Barkley, in his very able speech against the amendment, put the issue nicely. A revolving fund is necessary, Senator Barkley said, "because if utilities set up by the public with their own money are to compete with private utilities, which they have got to do, they must be able to operate and function all the time without interruption." The enemies of TVA do not want it to be able to compete with the private utilities.

Had three Senators changed their vote, the amendment would have been defeated. Credit is due to Minority Leader McNary for declining to play politics with our power supply in time of war. McNary parted company with most of his Republican colleagues to vote against the amendment. It is a pity that Brewster of Maine, who showed so much understanding of the power and alumi-

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num problems in the Truman committee hearings, joined the anti-TVA forces. O'Mahoney and Gillette, who have fought monopoly in other fields, did likewise. Those three votes could have saved the TVA.

The full significance of the McKellar amendment can only be appreciated against the background (1) of our power resources as compared with those of the Axis, (2) of our enlarged need for power, and (3) of the many occasions when the TVA has been forced to act quickly to provide power for war production. The revolving fund made quick action possible.

As Senator Lee pointed out, between 1935 and 1942 Hitler quadrupled the output of electric power in the countries he controls. The production of electricity in Axis Europe today is about 40 per cent above that of our own country. In aluminum and magnesium, the two light metals closely dependent on electric power, German production at the end of 1941 was greater than that of the United States, Britain, and Canada together.

Aluminum and magnesium are not the only war materials whose production requires large amounts of electricity. Shell cases are usually of brass, which is made of electrolytic copper and zinc. Electrolytic refined steels and ferro-alloys are necessary in the making of small arms, artillery, and tanks. Shipbuilding requires ferro-alloys for steel plates and structural shapes, high-grade electric steel for propulsion machinery. Magnesium is needed not only for planes but for incendiary bombs. Power is needed to make phosphorus. TVA must provide part of the power for the synthetic-rubber program.

Senator Norris showed that without a revolving fund for emergencies TVA would not have been able to come to the rescue of the Aluminum Company of America in the fall of 1939 and provide new facilities for the delivery during that fiscal year of an additional 288,000,000 kilowatt-hours of energy. The TVA spent $1,300,000 out of its revolving fund for that purpose. Alcoa paid $1,600,000 for the power. The power made possible the manufacture of 29,000,000 additional pounds of aluminum during the fiscal year 1939-40, the equivalent of 1,500 ten-ton bombers. "I presume those bombers, manned for the most part by American fliers," Senator Norris said, "have been destroying ships, airplanes, and other property of the enemy all over Russia, Europe, and Africa, and all through Asiatic waters. Such a thing would be absolutely impossible if these amendments should be agreed to by the Senate." So the Senate agreed to the amendments. Heil the Power Trust!

Freezing Out the Free French

BY HAL LEHRMAN

THE smoke of battle still hangs thick over Madagascar. Of British initiative, courage, and self-sacrifice there can be no doubt. Seizure of the island, frustrating Japan's designs on a base from which it could have crippled United Nations shipping in the Indian Ocean, deserves a prayer of thanksgiving throughout the democracies. But as the struggle continued, as more and more French and British fell in fratricidal combat before major resistance collapsed, the painful question arose: Need there have been any battle at all?

Being a reporter and not a military strategist, the writer can only set down here, without taking sides, what he has obtained from sources hitherto unimpeachable. It may now for the first time be disclosed, on high Free French authority, that the De Gaullist command in Equatorial Africa had perfected a plan for a bloodless internal uprising in Madagascar, timed to coincide with a three-pronged landing on the defenseless southern and western coasts. A corps of secret agents—former officers and colonists who escaped from the island after the fall of France—was preparing the insurrection. A portable Free French short-wave radio was broadcasting anti-Vichy propaganda under the Governor General's nose. Three battalions of crack African *tirailleurs* were concentrated on the mainland at Durban to back up the revolt with the prestige of an army and a flag.

The uprising and the Free French expedition were prevented from materializing by a lack of transport shipping, according to the De Gaullists. They outlined their needs to Premier Jan Smuts in Capetown and to the British. Smuts was eager for action. He feared that the Japanese, in addition to using Madagascar as a submarine base, would make it a jumping-off place for invasion of the continent. But all he could offer the Free French was a certain number of transport planes. These, with an average capacity of twenty men, were insufficient to fly 3,000 heavily equipped soldiers from their camp on the east coast of South Africa. Only the British, it is said, were in a position to furnish the necessary troop ships, and no favorable reply was received from London.

Confronted with the fact of the direct British assault on Madagascar, the Free French last week were publicly noncommittal and privately shrouded in gloom. While the fighting was going on, General de Gaulle himself had nothing to say. His delegates and aides in Washington and New York emulated his silence. Official dis-

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approval of an ally's course was unthinkable, of course. But in quiet conversations tinged with despair two basic criticisms were advanced. First, the attack had been directed against Diego Suarez, the strongest fortified zone on the entire island. Greater resistance was thereby encouraged, with consequent increased losses for attackers and defenders. Second, Britain's open warfare against a French possession gave Axis propaganda another wedge to thrust between the people of conquered France and their former comrades in arms. The Laval-Pétain regime was able to strike a miserable pose as defender of the French empire against a foreign invader.

The De Gaullists contend, on the other hand, that their own plan would have reduced casualties to an absolute minimum and ruled out any possibility of a bogus Vichy appeal to patriotism. Their "plot" was an adaptation of the technique used in the seizure of Free French Africa, where in an area six times as large as the mother-country and with a population of six million, France was restored to the war and the democracies by a series of brilliant coups d'état. One after another, Chad, the Cameroon, French Congo, and Ubangi-Chari fell away from Vichy through internal maneuvering. Only in Gabun was there serious opposition. Free French dominion in Central Africa gave Britain a strong ally on the flank of its Libyan front and a defense in depth along the most vulnerable stretch of the Capetown-to-Cairo route in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. For the United Nations, Free French Africa cut the time and risk of shipping around the far tip of the continent. Bombers touch De Gaullist territory regularly on their way to the Middle East.

In Madagascar the Free French counted on the overwhelmingly anti-Vichy sentiment of the native Malgache population. They had at their disposal a broadcasting service, Radio Madagascar-Libre, which consisted of a powerful sender mounted on a truck, operating in the style of the outlaw German stations. Among the leaders of the proposed uprising were men who knew the terrain from a lifetime of residence, who had even commanded units of the troops which later fought the British. Four of them were officers who had been found loaded with chains in the brig of a French ship taking them to Marseilles.

The objective of the coup was to have been not the strong naval fortress of Diego Suarez but the capital at Tananarive, a much weaker place than the harbor citadel. As soon as the revolt signal was flashed throughout the island by Radio Madagascar-Libre, De Gaulle's fifth columnists were to make straight for the official broadcasting station, the Governor General's palace, and other key buildings in Tananarive. By concentrated raids they aimed to take over in one night all the main communications and all the administrative centers, in addition to locking up the Vichy officials. Simultaneously, landings were to be made at Majunga at the mouth of the Betsiboka River on the west coast, at Tulear in the southwest, and at Fort Dauphin in the southeast. These debarkation points are virtually without fortifications. The weak Malgache garrisons there would probably be already split by the revolt. Any remaining coastal resistance, it was expected, would be easily brushed aside by the Free French battalion commanders and their black infantry—Sara tribesmen, the toughest fighting breed in Equatorial Africa. Then a swift march northward and eastward by the three columns was to converge on Tananarive. The capital once neutralized, the remnants of the garrison still loyal to Vichy—mostly Senegalese—could be tightly bottled in the Diego Suarez area.

At this moment, the plan indicated, the British fleet might well come up to finish the job, with the least possible damage to the besiegers, the besieged, and popular feeling at home in France. The British could blockade the harbor from the sea, and the Free French could sever its communications by land. Artillery brought from the landing ports would dissuade the garrison from attempting to break out. The fortress could last only as long as its food supplies.

What the Free French wanted above all to avoid was another fiasco such as Dakar or another Anglo-French clash like the naval engagement at Mers-el-Kebir, of which the Darlans and the Doriots are still making capital. Madagascar was no fiasco. The casualty total was whittled down considerably from early estimates. The fact remains, however, that men in French and British uniforms died on a remote African island while a Nazi army stood at ease in France.

There are other Vichy territories still to be rescued from the threat of Axis control—in the Indian Ocean, West Africa, North Africa, and the Caribbean. The State Department's current adroitness in Martinique has, for once, found favor with the Free French, still pale from the Madagascar ordeal. They appreciate the technique of presenting ultimatums gracefully over a conference table instead of at the point of naval guns. They applaud this government's constant reiteration, to the Martinique authorities and the French in France, of our desire to avoid bloodshed. They know that it really doesn't matter how many faces are saved, when lives are saved as well. If the main purpose—quarantine of Martinique against the Axis—should be achieved without a shot, the victory would be complete.

The De Gaullists fervently hope that Madagascar will be the last head-on collision between ancient allies. But their dearest dream of all is the hour when the British, the Free French, the Americans, and all the liberated armies of the enslaved nations land in force on the soil of France. On that battleground, they say, there will be no French soldiers with orders to fire on the invaders. The creatures of Hitler in Vichy will be mute. The only target will be Germans, the goal Berlin.

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Keep Them Out!

I. THE REVEREND GERALD L. K. SMITH

Candidate for the Republican Senatorial Nomination in Michigan

BY WILL CHASAN AND VICTOR RIESEL

[*This article begins a series which will deal with the leading defeatists, isolationists, fascists, and assorted reactionaries among the Congressional and Senatorial candidates in the fall elections. The record of each man will be exposed; if he is now in Congress, his votes on major issues will be listed; the political situation in his state or district will be fully examined. Learn the facts about these men. The American people must Keep Them Out!*]

PERHAPS our most dangerous professional defeatist, now that Father Coughlin has been partially silenced, is Gerald L. K. Smith, a big, hook-nosed man whom Huey Long once described as a "better rabble rouser than I am." Smith is national chairman of the Committee of One Million, a catch-all for anti-Semites, isolationists, panacea seekers, and labor baiters; he publishes *The Cross and the Flag,* a monthly magazine that follows the *Social Justice* "line" and may perhaps inherit its circulation; and currently he is seeking the Republican Senatorial nomination in Michigan on the "Coughlin issue" and as an isolationist.

With a platform manner combining the best techniques of Billy Sunday and George M. Cohan, Smith has been selling panaceas and hate causes since 1934, when he abandoned a fashionable church at Shreveport, Louisiana, to team up with Huey Long. He became the leader of the Share-Our-Wealth clubs, which Long saw as a stepping-stone to the White House, and made nation-wide speaking tours for the Kingfish. He credited himself in 1935 with making 20,000 converts a day. Smith tried to seize control of the Long machine after Huey's death, but was thwarted by the guns of rival contenders. On October 1, 1935, he told a press conference at the Hotel New Yorker that he was "in grave danger of assassination," presumably by some ex-associate in Louisiana. Smith likes to repeat this and similar stories to show that he is prepared for martyrdom. He is still convinced that if Long had lived, "there would have been no Roosevelt in this country, and Huey Long would be the absolute dictator." He once told a friend, "I really believe that the American public will at all times stand directly in back of a man like Huey Long. He bamboozled them, he stole for and from them; and now I am in a position not only to employ his tactics but to improve on his technique."

Smith began to organize the Committee of One Million in October, 1936, when it became evident that the Lemke-for-President campaign, in which he had joined with Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend, was going to fizzle. The committee, which derived its name, according to Smith, from the fact that "a million" of his friends had asked him to start it, was launched formally in March, 1937, as a "nationalist front against communism." Its headquarters at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York immediately became a rallying point for anti-Semites and fascists of various hues. Patrick Powers, a member of Smith's original entourage, was friendly with Fritz Kuhn. The Bund leader gave his blessing to the new undertaking, and hundreds of Bundsmen attended committee meetings in New York and Philadelphia.

According to a sworn statement by a former employee, Smith was also aided by Merwin K. Hart, who introduced him to many industrialists. The New York *Times* of June 4, 1937, reported a conference at Carnegie Hall in which both Hart and Smith participated. Among the resolutions passed was one advocating repeal of the capital-gains tax. It's a queer fact that anyone with such radical financial views as "Share-Our-Wealth" Smith should have been invited to this conference. Any sincere meeting of minds between him and Hart, a well-publicized champion of economic orthodoxy, hardly seems possible. William Dudley Pelley, General Moseley, and Allan Zoll also gave Smith a hand, and Father Coughlin, who was an intimate friend, was especially helpful. His followers helped to arrange big meetings for the committee in a number of cities, and the two men appeared together on public platforms and conferred frequently in Detroit and Cleveland. Smith is said to have described Father Coughlin at one time as an egotistical person who would be a nobody without a Roman collar, but apparently their cooperation has been smooth and continuous.

Shortly after the Committee of One Million was started, Smith decided that it might be profitable to combine his anti-communism with a campaign against the C. I. O. He toured the country denouncing John L. Lewis before Rotary Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, and private gatherings of industrialists, from whom he solicited funds. His correspondence in 1937-39 contains endless references to his efforts to sell the committee as

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an antidote to unionism. An undated letter from Detroit contains the line, "Labor hell has broken out here, which is good for us." He met secretly with industrialists in Akron, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, and other mass-production centers, at first with only desultory results. He received a number of moderate contributions, but reported that General Motors had reneged on a pledge of $15,000, and that "the big rubber companies absolutely said no in Akron and passed the word down the line." Smith was often broke during this period, as his letters mournfully indicate, but in 1939 his fortunes improved; he began to broadcast weekly over WJR and extended his activities in other fields. A former intimate of Smith's insists that he was enabled to do so by contributions from Henry Ford.

Smith, who once observed that he was a friend of all Roosevelt's foes, has been closely associated with many of our most virulent isolationists. He failed to join America First, but he "admired many of the things it accomplished"—and helped to accomplish some of them in Michigan. In March, 1941, he arranged a meeting for his old friend Senator Gerald P. Nye at which 5,000 Detroiters cheered the usual isolationist shibboleths and shouted, "Impeach the President!" Smith boasts that he is still an isolationist and is sorry that America First, "that great mobilization of Americans," was disbanded. He charges in *The Cross and the Flag,* now being hawked in Detroit streets by former sellers of *Social Justice,* that a "set of highbinders in Washington are trying to sneak us back into the British Empire." He wants Congress to enact a "hoop-of-steel" law to compel the President to bring the fleet back to our shores, withdraw our troops from all foreign theaters of war, and stop shipments of all war materials to our allies until he is willing to "swear under oath that every acre of ground and every human being within the territorial responsibility of the United States is safe from attack, by an actual or a potential foe."

In his campaign for the Republican Senatorial nomination Smith is saying that he is "100 per cent for the war effort," but *The Cross and the Flag* and his propaganda generally are crudely defeatist. A pamphlet setting forth his hoop-of-steel argument enumerates the defeats suffered by the United Nations, pointing out that experts previously had said of each one, "We dare not suppose such a tragedy," and includes such sentences as, "I am told by well-informed patriotic Americans in Washington, D. C., that much bad news is being kept from us because it is feared that it would break the morale of the people." He has continued to address isolationist meetings and was the principal speaker at one sponsored by William G. Grace's Citizens' Committee in Chicago on February 13, where Britain and Russia were booed and the audience had to be reminded to "be careful that only American sentiments are expressed."

Gerald L. K. Smith

The remainder of Smith's program is unalloyed demagoguery. He demands $100 a month for every soldier, claiming that it was the Committee of One Million which obtained the increase to $42 a month. He urges Congress to "cut non-defense spending" and at the same time asks for "an honest hearing in the Senate for the Townsend plan." He also demands "tires for everybody." A press release describing the meeting at which Smith announced his candidacy quoted him as saying, "Take the rubber situation away from the bureaucrats, international bankers, and the rubber trust, turn it over to Henry Ford, and I am willing to wager that we'll have tires by New Year's and not later than Easter." Like Coughlin, Smith continually harps on the "international bankers"; he also has become subtly anti-Semitic. Frank Smothers, who covered a recent Smith meeting for the Chicago *Daily News,* reported that "throughout his speech Smith reiterated that what he wanted was a Christian America, nor did the cheering crowd misunderstand his implication regarding the Jewish citizens of America." At other meetings he has implied that any

From The Cross and the Flag

We recognize the priorities emergency, but because we know something of the background of Leon Henderson, we think that some place in this setup there are certain Marxists who are getting a real thrill out of seeing the great middle class crucified in the name of this emergency. . . . We are bold to assert that the most serious thing about this crucifixion of the middle class is not only the fact that our bureaucrats apparently don't care what happens to these people, but they actually appear to delight in their annihilation.

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From The Cross and the Flag

This journal and its editor appreciate the fact that we have real statesmen in Congress. . . . The following are just a few whose words will appear in this journal: United States Senators Reynolds, Nye, Walsh, Taft, Vandenberg, Brooks, Wheeler, and others. Members of the Lower House of Congress: Woodruff, Rankin, Rich, Hoffman, Shafer, Short, Jones, and many others. It is to be regretted that men such as the ones listed here are not in the majority. One of the ideals of this journal is to hope and pray and work for the day when men of this type will constitute a real, effective, vital majority in Congress.

We old-fashioned Americans do not propose to be city-slicked by boondoggling bureaucratic politicians, Communists, British imperialists (the Union Now gang), and a thousand and one other porch climbers, "confidence" men, and "snake oil" salesmen, who are working day and night on conspiracies to compel us to swallow a hundred poison pills in the name of war-time emergencies.

non-Christian is a traitor. He has adopted the slogan "Christ First in America" and would like his followers to believe that he is the American St. Paul.

Smith gives the impression that he is supported by influential Republicans and evidently hopes to become a spokesman for the Republican Party's extreme isolationist wing. He boasted in 1940 of receiving "big money" from Republican interests and said that Ohio and Michigan Republican leaders had sent him to the Philadelphia convention. He told at least one person that he had written its war plank. In his speeches Representatives Clare Hoffman and Roy Woodruff of Michigan, Senator Vandenberg, and a half-dozen other isolationists, including Gerald Nye, Robert Reynolds, and Martin Dies, are frequently mentioned in a chummy fashion and always with praise. Nye and Reynolds wrote laudatory comments for the first issue of *The Cross and the Flag;* Woodruff inserted its leading editorial in the *Congressional Record*. Smith tells his meetings that for "real unity" Nye should be made Secretary of State, Reynolds Secretary of War, David Walsh Secretary of the Navy, and Lindbergh placed in charge of the air force. Smith has been in close touch with isolationist leaders in Congress and undoubtedly expects their support in some form in his Senatorial campaign. He has challenged Wendell Willkie, whom he describes as "a New Deal fifth columnist" in the Republican Party, "to come into the state of Michigan and make a speech against me." His nomination to the United States Senate as a Republican, Smith says truculently, will "be construed as the repudiation of Wendell Willkie's fifth columnism."

Political observers tend to disparage Smith's chances of winning in the G. O. P. primary, but his defeat is by no means certain. He has long had connections with important sections of the Michigan machine, and support from his Congressional friends, if it is forthcoming, could be decisive. Smith probably is counting on some help from Michigan industrialists, whom he has been assiduously courting. His frequent and vehement attacks on Walter Reuther, his sugary references to Ford, and his demand that non-defense spending be cut are part of the process. In addition, Smith knows the political game. His ability to trade with political leaders, deal "reasonably" with seekers of special privilege, and talk the language of the ward bosses almost outwitted the tough manipulators in Louisiana. It is conceivable that the same qualities may succeed in Michigan.

If Smith can capture the Republican nomination he will have a better than fair chance to join his "old friends," Nye and Reynolds, in the Senate. Michigan is almost made to order for his type of appeal. The industrial sections are swarming with poor whites from Kentucky and Tennessee; on Woodward Avenue in Detroit one can hear the drawl of thousands who have abandoned their Southern Main Streets for new jobs at River Rouge and other war plants. The Ku Klux Klan is growing in Michigan; it is playing down its anti-Catholic activities and seeking cooperation with Coughlinite groups. It is reported to have 18,000 members in Detroit, many of them in the automobile plants. The Committee of One Million is growing, too, and an alliance of the three would be formidable. The Sojourner Truth riots revealed the hates which Smith can exploit. Prentiss Brown, the incumbent Senator, has been a consistent New Dealer and will have the support of the Michigan C. I. O., but he is a weak candidate. An upstate Protestant, Brown was almost defeated by a Coughlinite in a 1936 primary fight. His hold has since been strengthened, but the influx of thousands of new voters could easily upset his favorable balance.

Regardless of his fortunes in the Senatorial race, Smith will continue to be a dangerous member of our "führer fringe." He is a thoroughly accomplished demagogue and has more political acumen than most of his fellow-messiahs. His new Coughlinite backing will make him the spokesman for American defeatism, a role that he may fill even more effectively than his predecessor. More important, he appears to have become the focal point of a new alliance between outright fascists and their more subtle and respectable friends in politics and industry. Smith is acutely aware of his position. He wrote in *The Cross and the Flag,* "We expect to be called appeasers, turtles, Copperheads, fascists, anti-Semites, racketeers, fifth columnists, rumor mongers, and even candidates for the Cliveden set." Why not?

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Dixie Drive on Labor

BY BERNARD TAPER

THE anti-labor bills promoted by that crusading Southern trio Connally, Smith, and Vinson have at last been shelved, and the nation-wide hysteria that was whipped up in the name of war production but in reality primarily to benefit Southern business and industry is gradually subsiding. The United States has won a respite from organized hate.

During the Battle of the Forty-Hour Week I was traveling through the South, having left San Francisco just as it was beginning, and just as the first casualties of Pearl Harbor were being released from the city hospitals; San Francisco, confronted by that reality, was shocked and sobered.

A shipfitter's helper in one of the San Francisco Bay yards, a young man who had been a museum attendant before taking a vocational course in shipfitting, said to me very seriously, "I want you to write me and tell me about the shipyards on the East Coast. I get a good day's pay here—I can't complain about that—but I want to work a full day for it. Here we don't; the foreman keeps coming around and telling us to go hide out in the hull and kill a little time because the plates aren't ready or because some piece of equipment we need is being used somewhere else." He shrugged. "Maybe that's the way shipbuilding is everywhere. But let me know. I'd like to go to some yard where I can start in the morning and work straight through a whole day."

In the South, further removed from the war and war production, the atmosphere was very different. The emergency was less immediate and could be used as a pretext for hunting witches and making money. And the population of the South was showing the effects of our newspapers' greatest propaganda barrage since the 1936 anti-Roosevelt campaign.

In a fashionable restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, three women sat at a table near me. One of them took a newspaper clipping out of her handbag. "Have you seen this?" she asked. It was a photograph of an American soldier. "This boy died," she said, "and here's the letter he wrote home the week before he was killed." She read it with emotion. " 'We're going into action, and we need all the equipment we can get. We're ready to fight, we're ready to die. But you have to help us. Please don't allow labor to strike any more, don't let them slow up production any more. What do a few cents matter to them when we're ready to give our lives?' "

There wasn't a dry eye at the table. "I want you to read that tonight at the club," one of the women said. "Yes, dear, you must," said the other. "Just like you read it now."

And the newspapers which had first planted in our soldiers' minds the picture of America as a land torn by strikes, the factories and machines idle, eagerly rebroadcast these prejudices and half-truths.

A welder whom I talked to in Atlanta said, "That's right, we're only working six days a week here. The factories are closed on Sunday."

"How come?"

"There's a law against working on Sunday here. It ain't religious."

Forums on the forty-hour week were held in the washrooms of all the trains. On the Sweetwater-Houston run the fat man said he was a Houston business man. Next to him was a shopkeeper from Spartanburg, South Carolina, who was "just visiting out here in Texas." They addressed themselves to a dark-haired, agreeable-looking sailor, still in the uniform of the Coast Guard though in the process of being transferred to the regular navy. I was shaving.

"They ought to be shot, those strikers," said the Houston business man. "Here are you fellows dying and that goddam labor is layin' down on the job. Ain't that so?"

"Sure," said the sailor.

"They ought to draft them strikers," said the shopkeeper.

"They ought to shoot 'em," said the business man. "Just like sabotoors. That right?"

"Sure," said the sailor, "damn right."

"Now these bills we got in Congress now. Too mild, I say."

This went on. Finally I said, "How many strikes do you think there are now in war industries?"

"Plenty," said the business man.

"Too damn many," said the other.

"But as a matter of fact," I said, "there aren't any strikes of any consequence—there are maybe three hundred men all told out on strike right now."

The men didn't answer, not questioning the facts but not believing them either—not in the way the clubwomen believed the dead soldier. For the newspapers they read had been assiduously working up an anti-labor attitude based on emotion and prejudice. How well the campaign had succeeded was illustrated by the bewilderment of the Baltimore machinist who said to me, "Jesus Christ, I'm working ten hours a day, six days a week, and my wife looks at me like I was a skunk!"

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When I spoke of the suggestion to halt inflation by means of cutting down overtime pay, this machinist merely said, "How about deflating some of the fat boys first? I've been lean too long." Though the inflation threat was advanced in the editorial columns as one of the main arguments for the repeal of the forty-hour week, that aspect of the matter was discussed very little; it was too academic for popular consumption in the South.

With one exception all the soldiers and sailors I questioned expressed anti-labor sentiments, not with deep conviction but as if it were expected of them. One air-force private said, "I don't think labor's getting a fair deal in this. I think a workingman should be allowed to make a decent living." Then he looked around to see if this radical statement had been overheard.

Though the instigators of the anti-labor movement attempted to give it the aspect of a popular national uprising, it was very largely a Southern and Southwestern affair, and conservative financial journals now declare that its success would have served the interests not so much of the war industries as of the small, less essential plants typical of the Southern economy. The first editorials urging repeal of the forty-hour week appeared in Oklahoma newspapers, a state containing only 28,000 of the nation's 10,000,000 industrial workers. The campaign got under way in earnest with a circular letter written by Thomas J. Wallner of Nashville, Tennessee, president of the Southern States Industrial Council, which urged Southern employers, Chambers of Commerce, and newspapers to promote mass-meetings and legislation designed to "destroy labor unions."

One such meeting was held in Montgomery, Alabama, on March 30, with about two thousand townspeople present. After a few preliminary remarks attacking labor Colonel George Cleere, former commander of the American Legion of Alabama, read a violently phrased resolution urging Congress to prohibit strikes, restore the open shop, and repeal the forty-hour week. The crowd cheered.

At this point a man in the audience stood up. "I wish to offer a substitute resolution," he said. He pointed out the progress of production, praised labor for voluntarily abstaining from strikes, and urged that "Montgomery, Alabama, stand by the President." This too was received with cheers.

A gray-haired, distinguished-looking man then jumped to his feet. "I consider this resolution incendiary and ill-advised," he shouted. Another man, speaking in a quiet voice, seconded the substitute resolution. When he said, "This country's strength and glory must be free labor, not slave labor," there were cheers again.

An hour-long attempt to work out a compromise failed. "We will now close the meeting," the chairman announced somewhat ruefully. "I urge you all to keep buying defense bonds!" It was obvious that even in the South, haven of prejudice, the anti-labor sentiment was by no means the unanimous mandate that Connally, Smith, and Vinson had claimed.

A Central European Federation

BY MILAN HODZA

IF THIS war is not to end simply by setting the stage for another and even more devastating struggle, the post-war position of Germany must be given central consideration in the formulation of peace plans. The end of "Hitlerism" in itself will not mean the final end of aggressive German nationalism. The continuity of German nationalism is a historical fact, and it must be dealt with as such. How can we guarantee that German aggression shall never again be renewed?

Pacifists may see the means in Germany's disarmament; incorrigible map revisers, in its dismemberment; idealists, in the construction of a worldwide federation which would include Germany as a well-watched member. These are all sound suggestions no doubt, but one thing remains certain: no matter how completely Germany is defeated, it will continue to endanger the security of the world unless the peace to come is protected by measures more far-reaching than any yet tried. We must remember that Germany's armies were thoroughly defeated less than twenty-four years ago, that Germany was disarmed and reduced in territory, and that out of that defeat and post-war turmoil emerged an even more aggressively nationalistic Germany. Whether Germany was represented by Stresemann—"I had to wear the mask of peace"—or by Hitler, Europe has witnessed enough to know the foolishness of presuming that the end of German imperialism will come automatically with military defeat in this war.

In no forceful people's life can there fail to be a nationalistic period. France had to pass through the era of the Bourbons and of Napoleon. Great Britain experienced a similar development from the time of the Spanish wars to Waterloo. When British imperialism had slowed down its violent course, German nationalism was just beginning its career, Bismarck's wars were among its manifestations but were not its climax. That was to come

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with Wilhelm II's bid for a dominating German position in the world. The bid was defeated—temporarily, at any rate—and German nationalism eventually expressed itself in the animalistic outburst of Hitlerism. This virulent nationalism, even assuming that the present war is indeed to be its climax, cannot be expected to vanish suddenly, and the world will have to reckon with it for many decades to come.

Like any other violent imperialism, it is not likely to bow to measures or decisions unsupported by force. Its impetus will have to be checked by an equivalent force. The philosophy of force, the tradition of force, the idolatry of force can be paralyzed at the source, but only when its exponents are made to realize that another force is able and ready to resist. In the defense of the future peace Central Europe, as the neighbor of Germany, must provide a large part of that counter-force.

The plan of checking Germany by creating a strong Central European bulwark is not new: for a century it was the hope of many political leaders of old Austria—Slavs and Rumanians and even some German Austrians. The necessity for a strong Central Europe which could oppose Germany was what led the Czech historian Palacky to declare that Austria, if it did not exist, would have to be invented. However, the Hapsburgs failed utterly to make of Austria a barrier to Berlin's plans for *Mitteleuropa*. It is true that from 1906 to 1914 the Hapsburg Crown Prince, Franz Ferdinand d'Este, hoped as heir apparent to achieve this aim by new domestic and foreign policies. In the earliest years of my political career as a deputy in the old Hungarian Parliament I was among those who were urging a federalist plan to replace dualist Austria-Hungary, and it was along similar lines that the Crown Prince hoped to strengthen the empire. Those plans failed; the reformers had to leave to the First World War the historic task of liberating the small nations of Central Europe. One of the greatest things accomplished at Versailles was this liberation. But one of the greatest errors committed at Versailles was the failure to strengthen the freedom and security of the new nations by providing for the organic cooperation of all their economic and military forces. Will the United Nations repeat this error after the Second World War?

Central Europe, the area between Germany and Soviet Russia, can be defined in "geopolitical" terms as the basin of six rivers—the Polish Vistula and the middle and lower Danube with its affluents: the Czecho-Slovak Morava and Waag, the Yugoslav Morava, and the Yugoslav-Greek Vardar. Politically it means eight countries—Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia, the population of which, according to the statistics of 1937, was 110,000,000. In passing, it might be pointed out that united they could have mustered nearly 300 divisions for a common defense, but it is too easy—and quite futile—to argue now that Germany would not have dared to launch this war against the genuinely united strength of these eight countries. The fact is that even while the German machine was gobbling up Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, there was no possibility of pooling Central European resources against a common foe.

Now, however, the pattern of a new Central Europe is emerging from the bloody catastrophe of war. Three months ago the International Labor Conference held in New York and Washington issued a declaration emphasizing the "solidarity" of four Central European countries—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece—"in the common struggle for freedom." By some American commentators the proclamation was hailed as foreshadowing a "confederation of these states, each of which will retain its sovereignty," working "as a unit for common political, economic, and social objectives."

The renewed cooperation announced by the Yugoslav and Greek governments-in-exile has already shown progress. The Polish and Czecho-Slovak governments-in-exile, expressing the unanimous sentiment of their respective peoples, published as early as November, 1940, a joint statement pledging "closest cooperation" and have set up committees to discuss the alignment of Czecho-Slovak and Polish foreign and military policies. There is of course a real difference between "unity" and mere "solidarity," but those who desire an effectively united Central Europe can welcome these preliminary steps so long as they are not thought of as limiting the final political reorganization.

The "cooperation" contemplated by the Polish and Czecho-Slovak agreement reminds us of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente, which were regional pacts limited to particular local interests and which therefore failed to shape a Central European policy. Like many other Central Europeans, I considered the Little Entente not merely a barrier against the threat of Hungarian revisionism but also a stepping-stone toward more effective cooperation in the whole area of Central Europe. We failed, however, to achieve an extension of the Little Entente, and even its regional effectiveness began to evaporate when Hitler's march into the Rhineland in March, 1936, encountered no opposition.

Of course from then on we redoubled our efforts to eliminate the quarrels which divided the Central European nations. It was too late. At the end of 1937 one member of the Little Entente, Rumania—it would be more accurate to say "the Rumanian regime"—lulled itself to sleep with the comfortable theory that it would never be seriously menaced by Germany and that danger could come only from Soviet Russia. Yugoslavia, unfortunately, was then being led by a politician who seriously believed that his country could live on good terms

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with Germany and even with Italy. Poland—or rather the Polish regime of that period—had long since been going its own way, and had already signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. In fact, in the period of "cooperation," which lasted until very recently, Central Europe had as many policies as it had nations. Germany, on the other hand, had only one policy for Central Europe—to transform it into an arsenal and larder for the totalitarian crusade against democracy.

Facing these facts, we must see that the attempt to renew Central European "cooperation" or "coordination" would obviously be not only foolhardy but impossible. For the security of the democratic world the peace must provide a new system for Central Europe that will be able to guarantee unity of policy and action. That means a federation. Eight sovereign foreign ministers and eight sovereign armies might fail—as they did fail—to align their policies. Let us therefore unite them in order to obtain a new and effective sovereign power.

With respect to the framework of a federated Central Europe, it is clear that federation implies a common government headed by a federal chancellor and consisting of at least four secretaries responsible for foreign affairs, defense, finances, and economy, including international trade. Communications, shipping, civil aviation, and other common interests ought to be intrusted at least in part to the federal administration. A congress, democratically elected or consisting of delegates from democratic national parliaments, would levy taxes and pass legislation affecting the federal departments.

According to the European constitutional custom, an elected federal "head of state" would be required in addition to the chancellor. Those national dynasties which have provided valiant leadership for their people in the time of their greatest ordeal will survive, and republics should accept them as a fact in the same way that kings should accept the republicanism of their federated partners. Political wisdom would further suggest that each state in the federation occupy some outstanding post in the federal government; in addition to the posts already mentioned, there would be judges for the supreme court, commanders for the army, navy, and air force, and ministers without portfolio. In the individual states federal department business should of course be executed by the nationals of those states.*

What precedents for joint action can be found in the recent history of Central Europe? The Hapsburg empire, which is sometimes cited, obviously cannot be confused with a democratic federation of free nations. But the brief history of the independent nations between the First and the Second World War reveals instances of common action—at any rate in the economic field—whose significance ought not to be underrated.

* A more detailed constitutional scheme is proposed by the author in a book recently published in London.

In 1932, in the midst of the worldwide agricultural depression, six Central European governments undertook an official cooperation which resulted in the organization of the Agrarian Bloc of Central Europe. The importance of this bloc can be fully appreciated only if one realizes that on the average not less than 64 per cent of the inhabitants of the eight countries of Central Europe were farmers. The formation of this bloc was not motivated merely by the usual desire of farmers for higher prices. On the contrary, it symbolized an organized and united struggle to obtain minimum living standards for a rural democracy of about 70,000,000 people and to make them effective consumers of industrial products. In the six cooperating nations there was fostered a feeling of solidarity which did not soon lose its intensity.

In fact, it became and continued to be a political factor. At the meeting of the Interparliamentary Conference of Trade in London in September, 1935, my report on the agricultural situation in Central Europe was given with the full support of the six nations who had been members of the Agrarian Bloc. And in the interests of my own country I was able to obtain the construction of a network of preferential treaties with the other five Danubian countries.

There is ample evidence that most of Central Europe's democracy will not hesitate to take the step toward union, that they see clearly its economic advantages. These were well expressed in a recent article in *Free World* by Jan Stanczyk, the Polish labor leader, member of the Polish government-in-exile. Under the title A Federation of Central Europe Mr. Stanczyk wrote that "the inhabitants of Central-Eastern Europe and of the Balkans have been exploited by German industry," and that "in the future they must establish a united economic bloc—not a superficial political coalition—which will make possible their participation in a system of international exchange of goods and services." Most of the Polish leaders, regardless of party affiliation, are taking an attitude which may be considered either directly favorable to the idea of union or at least favorable to the principle of closer links between the nations. In Rumania the only democratic, and therefore the only real, authority is sure to desire participation in a union. In Bulgaria the situation seems to be the same.

Austria's position is peculiar to its own nature. There can be no doubt that Austria possesses many of the special characteristics of a nation. Nevertheless, it has sometimes seemed anxious to merge its identity with that of its northern neighbor. The Austrians reason, with a good deal of truth: "Of course we are too small to be independent; we are also too independent to be merely a district of Germany—not to speak of Nazi Germany. We feel interested in Central Europe, but there is no 'power' in Central Europe, and in so far as it seems to

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be in the making, it does not seem to have a place for Vienna. The fact is that Austria, and more particularly Vienna, requires an economic position in Central Europe which could compensate to some extent for what it lost twenty-four years ago." There is a valid point in this argument, but the problem is not insoluble. The chief difficulty is that the Austrians may not succeed in reconciling their own conflicting views. If the democratic spirit of a Catholic-Socialist compromise prevails, then Austria can surely become a partner in Central Europe.

Hungary, because of its imperialist role in the war, cannot be considered fit for entering a federation at present. However, Hungary is still being led, as it has been for centuries, by its traditional ruling class, which means that the peasants and workers are excluded from political influence. The picture will become more hopeful when the Hungarian democracy eventually gains control.

In this connection it is worth while to recall the relationship between nationalism and democracy in Central Europe. In all the Central European nations except Hungary nationalism evolved simultaneously with democratic feeling. The landlords, the big industrialists, and the bureaucracy, enemies of the political liberties of the people, were also the social and racial oppressors. The German upper classes in Austria ruled over the Czechs, the Posnanian Poles, and the southern Slovenes. In Hungary the Magyars ruled over the Slovaks, the Hungarian Rumanians, and the Serbs. In the same way the Turks, at certain periods, were the rulers, social and political and racial, of the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Danubian Rumanians. This identification of the political with the social and racial adversary resulted logically enough in the identification of nationalism with democracy. On the whole, Central European democracy is strengthened by racial emotionalism, and its nationalism is deepened by democratic principles. Hungary is the exception.

In all Central European countries democracy has had to fight hard to survive; in some of them it has at times succumbed. This enhances the democratic value of a Central European federal congress based upon a strictly democratic ballot, for the weak state democracies would be given the numerical and moral support of the democracy of the whole federation.

A federated Central Europe would represent the final development of a regional pact to the highest possible degree of effectiveness. It is the indispensable prerequisite of any larger federation, of a new "world order," which is the hope of all who are concerned for the fate of mankind.

[*Other points of view on the post-war reconstruction of Central Europe will be presented in two subsequent articles, one by Rustem Vambery, chairman of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians, and the second by Antonin Basch, noted Czech economist now teaching at Brown University.*]

In the Wind

ITEMS FROM THE BROADCASTS of "Paul Revere," a Berlin radio commentator on American affairs: Father Divine, whom Roosevelt has jailed, is rousing from his prison cell an army of thousands of Negroes who will fight against the war, Roosevelt, the British, and the Jews. . . . All of America's Chinese are opposed to the war against Japan. . . . New York's St. Patrick's Day parade was a tremendous anti-war, anti-Semitic demonstration. Mayor LaGuardia wanted to stop it but was unable to because the whole New York police force was marching with the Irish.

NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBORS of Senator Rufus Holman of Oregon, a Republican isolationist, report that on December 7 when they heard the radio announce the bombing of Pearl Harbor they rushed in to tell the Senator. Holman greeted them by saying that he didn't want to talk politics; he was busy reading. The book in his hands was "Alice in Wonderland."

EARL BROWDER is allowed to receive only one newspaper at his cell in Atlanta Penitentiary. He asked that the *Daily Worker* be sent him, but the authorities would not allow it; his second choice, which he is receiving, was the New York *Herald Tribune.*

DAVID DUBINSKY'S followers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union threatened last year to withdraw from the American Labor Party, charging it with Communist domination. The I. L. G. W. U. has now decided to remain in the party, but it will conduct a campaign to wrest control from the Communists.

SOME PRISONERS at a Georgia work camp saw a fellow-convict shot in the back by a guard. In order to get word outside the camp they wrote a note to a local reporter and tied it to the leg of a terrapin. After several days the note reached the reporter, the affair was exposed in the Atlanta *Journal,* and the guard is now standing trial.

BERNARD D'ARCY, Father Coughlin's lawyer and New York distribution manager for *Social Justice,* has closed his Manhattan office and taken one near the building in which the Brooklyn *Tablet* is published. Both the *Tablet* and Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag* have been mentioned as successors to *Social Justice.*

THE WRITER of a rotogravure-section feature story on Marshal Timoshenko in the Houston *Chronicle* was completely taken in by the joke about the Marshal's Irish ancestry. Under a picture of a peasant hut he wrote: "This is the little house in the village of Furmanka in Bessarabia where Timoshenko was born. His parents, poor peasants, are said to be descended from Tim O'Shenko, who settled in Bessarabia many years ago."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The White Feather

BY JOHN BERRYMAN

Sydney, Australia. Lieutenant Jack Leslie Perry, who lost an eye in action in Syria and was awarded the military cross for gallantry in action, was handed a white feather by a young woman as he walked along the street in civilian clothes. Perry said nothing but dropped his glass eye in the woman's hand.—NEWS ITEM.

Imagine a crowded war-time street
Down Under. See as little as I:
The woman gives him as they meet
Passing, something—a feather. Try
To make out this man who was going by.
The eye stared at the feather.

He could remember sand and sand,
The punishing sun on their guns; he chose
As the men approached the western end
To move to the left. Who would suppose
A lieutenant in civilian clothes?
The feather stared back.

He dropped his glass eye in her hand.
Humiliation or fantasy,
He thought; I have seen too much sand
For judgment or anger. It may be I,
All men deserve the feather's lie.
The eye stared at the feather.

Notes by the Way

SHERWOOD ANDERSON was a "mid-American" D. H. Lawrence. His books, in their day, were hotly defended and as violently attacked because he incited and gave sanction to the powerful, primary impulses of sex and self; in their name he scorned the taboos, social and moral, designed to curb them, and in particular he denounced the searing effects on the "natural man" of our industrial civilization.

Anderson's attitude toward direct experience and his refusal to be bound by the values of the money-grubbing industrial society in which he found himself remain admirable. No one can fail to be charmed by his story, told again in his "Memoirs" (Harcourt, Brace, $3.75), of how at the age of forty or so, having decided that writing was his recreation, he walked out on his business and his family. Yet his early books have ceased to be read, and the reason lies in his attitude toward writing itself.

Anderson considered the artist's power of expression a magic gift which absolved its possessor of the ordinary responsibilities of mankind—this is made very clear in the picture of his father in "A Story-Teller's Story" and in the facts of his own history. But his writing gives abundant evidence of a further, fatal assumption that since the gift is magic, control is neither possible nor desirable. He speaks often of the discipline of writing, but his novels and his memoirs are a study in non-discipline; and he is forever disclaiming responsibility for his imagination and its works.

The effects of this sentimental romantic belief in the infallibility and impunity of the creative impulse, this view of expression as a species of automatic writing, are displayed to the full in his final testament. The "Memoirs" contain some interesting sections, notably his account of what he calls the Robin's Egg Renaissance. There are excellent descriptive passages, amusing stories, to prove that his gift was authentic; and his never-ending interest in and goodwill toward human beings finds continuous expression. But like his novels the "Memoirs" are long-winded, repetitious, and soft—the unrestrained outpouring of a writer for whom writing had become increasingly a form of self-indulgence.

His short stories—though, significantly, they are better described as sketches—were less subject to the flaws that vitiate the novels. The single imaginative thrust was suited to his talent and to his primitive and essentially lazy conception of art. "The short story," he writes, "is the result of a sudden passion. It is an idea grasped whole as one would pick an apple in an orchard. All of my own short stories have been written at one sitting." Or again, "I am not one who can peck away at a story. It writes itself, as though it used me merely as a medium, or it is n. g."

Fundamentally, though unconsciously, Anderson scorned discipline, order, and idea—that is to say, conscious intellectual control—in art as well as in life. To him impulse and feeling were all that mattered—and his novels and his "Memoirs" are a chaos of impulse and feeling, rendered inert and shapeless because they lack the bones of thought.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Europe's Future

THE FRANCE OF TOMORROW. By Albert Guérard. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

MR. GUERARD'S book should have been entitled "The France of Yesterday and the Europe of Tomorrow." One seeks in vain for his views on the future organization of France; on the other hand, his analysis of the moral, political, and social conditions which determined the fall of France is the most interesting one so far published in the United States; moreover, the author makes an important contribution to the study of the Europe of the future.

Mr. Guérard warns us that his study is not "mechanically objective"; having "thoughts and feelings, he desires to express them, not to suppress them." He does not limit himself to exposing the facts; he evaluates them. He assigns to the reactionary and nationalist bourgeoisie the responsibility for France's role in the events of June, 1940, underlining the faults of the United States and England in the deterioration of the international situation between 1919 and 1939. He shows the responsibility of the French military, not only

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of Gamelin, but of Pétain and Weygand. He shows above all the responsibility of the right, whose narrow nationalism prevented any entente between German and French democracy before Hitler's rise to power and the organization of collective security after that event. He recalls that the right refused the offer of Léon Blum in 1938 to form a "Sacred Union, as in 1914, embracing rightists as well as Communists," because it was more preoccupied with defending the privileges of the capitalist bourgeoisie against the Popular Front than with defending France against Hitler.

Without doubt, all this is already known to the American public. But the great merit of Mr. Guérard's book is that it shows that the French right for a century and a half had been constantly dominated by a hatred of democracy and of the spirit of the French Revolution. He recalls the historical importance of the Dreyfus affair. He denounces the upper bourgeoisie of France, who, with sadistic joy, seized from the defeat of the French armies the opportunity of destroying the democratic regime and leading the French of 1940 back to the *ancien régime*. He heaps contempt upon Marshal Pétain and his entourage of conscious or unconscious traitors.

All this is the more important in that the author makes the necessary distinction between the French people and the bourgeoisie. One of his most interesting chapters is entitled The Dictatorship of the Middle Class. He shows how a regime founded on inequalities of social conditions and wealth could not be a democracy. On the other hand, his analysis of French governmental institutions is weak. Certainly he is right in not defending the constitution of 1875, which he calls "a monarchical instrument, unwanted by the very men who wrote it." But he passes too quickly from his just criticism of the imperfection of this constitution to wholesale condemnation not only of parliamentarianism but of all representative government. It would seem to me more just to explain the weakness of the French regime by the fact that the constitution of 1875 was not sufficiently democratic. Nothing could be decided in France, either in government or administration, without the consent of the Senate; and the Senate, because of the way it was elected, represented not the people of France but the French bourgeoisie and above all the rural bourgeoisie. This is a very important point, to which American public opinion does not give sufficient attention. The dictatorship of the middle class was exercised by the Senate. The parliamentary democracy condemned by Mr. Guérard was not a true democracy.

This error of analysis impairs the value of all that part of the book which treats of the government of the future. The author's approach to this problem is abstract and general; he speaks for the world as a whole and not for France —which is an error, for a good system of government must adapt itself to the temperament of its people. What Mr. Guérard proposes is the absolute government of a president, that is to say, the American system disembarrassed of Congress but enriched by the exercise of the referendum. Mr. Guérard arrives at a government by experts because he refuses to grant to the people or their representatives the competence necessary to solve the political problems of the hour. There is here, it seems to me, a confusion between the political and the technical aspects of government. It is needless to insist on the dangers of such a conception of democracy. Even if it functioned in a world liberated from capitalism, the regime of Mr. Guérard would end by being either the dictatorship of a president or—more probably—the dictatorship of a bureaucracy, that is to say, precisely in the evil of which Mr. Guérard has denounced the effects. By far the main interest of this part of the book is that it incites the reader to reflect upon and to criticize the solutions which are presented to him.

On the other hand, Mr. Guérard makes an important contribution to the discussion of post-war problems with his examination of the question of "the unity of Europe." Certainly one cannot agree with all of Mr. Guérard's ideas; one must smile at his declaration that "the key to cooperation" is the adoption, by the European peoples, of a common language. But Mr. Guérard is right in raising the question of European organization. There is not, for the future, a French problem or a German problem; there is only a European problem.

The author is the partisan of a "unitary" organization of Europe; I think, on the contrary, that Europe will evolve into a federation, or even a confederation of federations. But I approve without reserve Mr. Guérard's assertion, which he supports with historical proofs, that to reserve for Germany particular treatment in the new organization of Europe would be as contrary to justice as it would be devoid of political sense. Mr. Guérard thinks that it is necessary not only to break German unity and destroy German nationalism but to destroy French unity and nationalism. He hopes that the new Europe will be a vast grouping of provinces and of regions assuring "the liberty and equality of all cultures." And he hopes too that we shall no longer continue to confound true liberty, which is that of the spirit, with that famous economic liberty which seems to him just about as reasonable as the liberty which would allow motorists to disregard traffic laws or gangsters to blackmail their neighbors.

In brief, while I am far from approving all Mr. Guérard's ideas, the general tendency of his book is excellent. It should be read and meditated by all who wish to understand what happened in June, 1940, and to reflect upon what the France and the Europe of tomorrow will be. PIERRE COT

The Book as Experience

THE PRIVATE READER: SELECTED ARTICLES AND REVIEWS. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. $2.75.

IN THE act of bringing his critical writings together Mr. Van Doren makes plain that he will write criticism no more; from now on he is to be a private reader. This book is more than enough to make one regret—and hope that he will revoke—his decision, for he belongs with a few critics in our time who have written about books with sanity and charm. And writing about books is to be distinguished, as a less frequent and more fruitful thing, from reviewing them. Most reviewers look upon a book as a challenge, when, indeed, it is not merely a chore; and hurry into the judicial robe and, wherever possible, the black cap. But to Mr. Van Doren, to whom criticism is "an art at which luck and love assist," and for whom the critic should "dart in with judg-

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ments only when they offer themselves to him naturally," a book is something that lies a good deal closer to life and that, as far as possible, is not to be "immobilized" but liberated. That need for releasing it rather than pinning it down is Mr. Van Doren's last word, as it is perhaps his only formulation, and it helps to explain why his criticism, concerned though much of it is with contemporary books and films that have worn rather badly, has managed to wear very well.

For most modern criticism does not wear well, though there are sharper and subtler and far more provocative critics than Mr. Van Doren. There are perhaps two reasons for this: the assumed nature of criticism and the assumed role of the critic. As for the first, it tends to set up conditions and standards too oppressively—to make them something against which a book is not so much to be measured as into which it must fit. As a result, books acquire—or fail to acquire—significance of one kind or another, but lose their identity. We are told what they represent without half the time being told what they are. As for the critic, he is so anxious to arrive at a judgment that he seldom shares the book with us as an experience. There is no longer, in print at any rate, much appreciation of books; there is only appraisal. It was the virtue of older, more personal, more absorbent critics like Lamb and Hazlitt that they gave us both.

Mr. Van Doren is a good critic in any sense of the word, for he has the ability to say interesting and illuminating things about books. He has also read deeply, so that he can fit any new book he reads into the framework of literature. And one would want to say more of all this were not one more impressed by how Mr. Van Doren can fit what he reads into the framework of life. One always gets the feeling that a man is writing this book, as well as a critic. Most critics are interesting for their ideas, their prejudices, their attitudes; Mr. Van Doren is most interesting because of himself. This is not from his being in the least an autobiographical or in the main a "personal" writer: indeed, he lacks the positive and picturesque qualities of a Lamb or a Hazlitt, though he is closer to them in his approach to books than to most of his contemporaries. Actually he is quiet of voice, economical of gesture. His opinions, like his prose, are cool and dry; he is masculine in his tastes, with no foolish or neurotic sensibilities. From this one gets a sense of wholeness in the man, which is not to be confused with completeness, but which is notable in an age of men with divided minds and split personalities. He has, too, an admirable sense of values; he is, for example, among the not too many critics who are less bothered by dulness than falseness.

Now and then one feels that he stands too much on the sidelines—that he has not busted out about this or that as he might have; that in the troubled life of the past ten years his serenity at times approaches remoteness. Yet one knows that this is never callousness; and one comes to feel at last that his humanitarianism is so instinctive that he has never felt the need, as have some of the rest of us, of emphasizing it. But all this is a result of temperament as well; Mr. Van Doren is no more a crusader than a cynic, no more a revolutionary critic than a fashionable one. That may be why he wears well: he does not speak for any one particular moment.

All this leaves me no space for comment on Mr. Van Doren's specific judgments on books and movies. That one doesn't share some of his enthusiasm or agree with all of his opinions is not of much importance, particularly since all the enthusiasms are healthy and the opinions sane. Mr. Van Doren's best insights are at once simple and profound, as when he remarks of "Leaves of Grass" that for all its strenuous gospel of comradeship, it is "one of the loneliest books ever written." But his most characteristic comments lie closer to wit; let me instance a remark about a certain type of modern poetry: "The appearance of labor is not only preferred; it is praised."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Mormon Family Portrait

A LITTLE LOWER THAN THE ANGELS. By Virginia Sorensen. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

THIS novel tells the story of Joseph Smith's Latter-Day Saints during their sojourn in Nauvoo, and ends with the break-up of that community and the beginning of their westward trek in search of a land where they might live unmolested by intolerant neighbors. Mrs. Sorensen, herself a descendant of an old Mormon family and a graduate of Brigham Young University, has presented her people with warm compassion and a sharp sense of personal drama. Instead of treating her material as a historical pageant, she reveals the travail of this determined, often desperate band of believers through the eyes and heart of Mercy Baker, the first wife of the colony who had to accept the ignominy of another wife in her home—a humiliation which weighed even upon her children.

In the dilemma of Mercy and her husband Simon the author has illustrated an ethical problem which must have faced many of the Mormons when the doctrine of polygamy was introduced: Simon, though more than happily married and by no means a libertine, was virtually forced to accept a second wife, in spite of his instinctive repugnance and his fear of wounding Mercy. But the Mormons were told that plural marriage was an inseparable part of their creed—a creed that was more than a theology, that envisaged a total struggle against unhappiness and intellectual poverty. "Man is that he might have joy," Joseph Smith preached to his people, and woman's functions, he clearly implied, were to furnish as much of that joy as possible and to add liberally to the number of God's chosen people. That even the men were actually a hard-mouthed, joyless lot in spite of their theoretical beliefs was due in part to the hardships that constantly attended their lives, in part also to the stern, uncompromising moral sense that they inherited from their Protestant ancestors.

Of the many novels that have the Mormons as a background this seems to me the most intensely dramatic and the most satisfyingly written. Mrs. Sorensen's prose is sharp and distinguished, often poetic without being pretentious. Her instinctive sympathy with the spiritual and physical yearnings of the Saints, who thrived on adversity and refused to yield a single inch in their doctrines or practices in the face of mobs or legal coercion, produces a stirring tale of quiet heroism.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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The Genius of Spain

VIRGIN SPAIN: THE DRAMA OF A GREAT PEOPLE. By Waldo Frank. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.50.

AT LONG last some intelligent officials at Washington have sent Waldo Frank, upon the urgent request of distinguished Hispano-Americans, to Argentina and adjacent countries to convey to our neighbors the significance of our commitment to defeat Hitler and his satellites. Needless to say, Latin America as a whole, despite the official adherence of its many governments to diplomatic protocols, does not see eye to eye with us in this formidable task. There is a good deal of evidence that thus far we have failed to convince Argentinians and Chileans—and not only them—of our solemn determination to destroy the Fascist hydra threatening our way of life. All the millions we have spent on the propagation of Spanish in this country have not produced among our intellectuals a half-dozen capable of speaking the idiom of Latin America. To speak to Latin Americans the mechanics of Portuguese and Spanish does not suffice. Waldo Frank, who is about to make a tour of lectures and contacts which in reality may be regarded as a continuation of his brilliant tour of 1929, is perhaps the American best equipped to show them that they and we can create and maintain a spiritual solidarity, in spite of the many differences that appear to keep us apart.

If we ask how Waldo Frank achieves the authority to represent us in Hispano-America, we find the answer in his "Virgin Spain," originally published in 1926 and now reissued. The illustrious Mexican poet and critic, Alfonso Reyes, in the new introduction to the book reveals how Waldo Frank, fired by a missionary zeal to make a spiritual entity of the Americas, felt the need to see Spain before completing his vision of an integrated American world. "Having understood that what mattered to America was less what it is than what it can be, he sought in Spain the virginal pulse of the will toward the future, the dynamic love, never exhausted by her historical mishaps, of Spain's transcendent aspiration."

"Virgin Spain" has appealed to Spaniards and their American cousins as no other book among the many written about Spain. Some of its meatier sections were published in Ortega's *Revista de Occidente*. The books of Gauthier, Havelock Ellis, Borrow, have perhaps greater aesthetic values than "Virgin Spain," but none of them probe so deeply into the very being of Spain or call forth such unquestioning acceptance. León Felípe, the Spanish poet now living in Mexico, transmuted the difficult language of Frank into sonorous Castilian prose. Frank in Spanish becomes immediately lucid and communicable.

But "Virgin Spain" was intended for the people of the United States, and here the response has been disappointing. Its purpose was somewhat like that which made possible Henry Adams's "Mont St. Michel and Chartres." To unravel the motives and moods that went into the composition of "Virgin Spain" would be to produce a long essay on the cultural currents in this country from 1910 to 1930. Suffice it to say here that dissatisfaction with the cultural level in this country, dim apprehension about the future, and nervous yearning for spiritual cohesiveness of a higher order were some of the disturbing factors that drove many of our creative artists into exile and made writers search far and wide for the secrets of the greater peoples. As far back as 1919 Waldo Frank formulated the need: "The problem is rather to lift America into self-knowledge that shall be luminous so that she may shine, vibrant so that she may be articulate."

Frank went to Spain, then, to seek the meaning of American civilization, for in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had taken place a political and cultural experiment which, if understood in all its implications, would throw a flood of light upon the American scene with its groping and embryonic attempts to create a much-needed spiritual unity. This hunger for unity is the key to the book. The reader would do well to start with Chapter VII, The Will of the Catholic Kings. Besides embodying the essence of the book, it may open new vistas upon what is occurring today. Once the book is mastered, one can readily see that "Virgin Spain" is as monistic as its author's philosophy. Its greatness and perhaps its weakness are traceable to the ambitious perspective from which Frank views the complex and recalcitrant world that is Spain. Everything —sky, scene, the psyche of the Spaniard, dances, paintings, the bull fight, monuments, politics, literature—is submitted

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to the fascinating concept of unity from which they emerged. Frank's thesis is that Spain is the result of innumerable racial strains—Celt, Iberic, Roman, Phoenician, Copt, Arab, Berber, Jew, Visigoth—which the miraculous matrix of the land and its history has reduced to an imposing whole. But the vicissitudes of time and space effected only an ethnic unity, which the clashes of culture have obscured. Spain was the first country in the history of modern Europe to use the weapons of dogma and organized force, church and state, to create an ideological unity that anticipated in more than one sense the blueprints of Nazi totalitarianism. The mastermind of the scheme was Isabel, the Catholic who in her mystical obsession instinctively invented or rediscovered the modern weapons to cow dissidents—the institution of torture or the Inquisition, expulsion of minorities, foreign wars of expansion, and propaganda. Her mad design was fed by the fires of a passion that spared neither friend nor foe. Lest there be a precipitous inference that Isabel's plan was identical with Hitler's, it must be pointed out that Isabel submitted her scheme to the universalism of the church, a universalism which in practice allowed for the assimilation of Jew and Moor.

Sober restraint becomes impossible for the critic who is sympathetic to "Virgin Spain." For enthusiastic response is inevitable once the key to the book is discovered, and any annoying quirks of style or composition are forgotten in the contemplation of the author's unerring grasp of a whole civilization as willed unity. One is forced to share the balanced judgment of Spanish and Hispano-American critics who, knowing their Spain, say that Frank's book is an arresting achievement in the art of understanding a complex and baffling culture like that of Spain. Avoiding details which might blur the contour of the vision, the book has not aged since its first appearance. The Awakening Passion, the only really new section that Frank has added to the architecture of his book, stresses the thesis that Spain achieved a unity which locked its energies, immobilizing it for centuries, and that when in its somnolence it felt the impact of the successful West, the disturbance of equilibrium produced the bloodiest civil war on record. M. J. BENARDETE

The Struggle for Islam

MEDITERRANEAN FRONT. By Alan Moorehead. Whittlesey House. $2.75.

A GREAT many inadequate pages have been written about the war in the Middle East. Most of the writers have depended on the music and romance of such names as Bagdad, Tyre, Cyrene, Thermopylae, and Damascus. They have failed to present the great war going on from Italy to India, and from the Balkan Peninsula and the Black Sea to Central Africa. Alan Moorehead seems to this reviewer to be the first journalist who has realized that this is not a number of isolated micro-wars but one vast struggle for the control of Islam.

The German invasion of Greece, like the preceding Italian invasion, was part of the great battle still seesawing back and forth between the Nile Valley and Tripoli. The German feint at Syria and Iraq in the spring of 1941 was likewise intended to weaken the British on the northern coast of Africa.

It was perhaps the greatest British blunder of this war—from a realistic military point of view—to go to the aid of Greece, for the sixty thousand men shattered in Greece would have been enough in all probability to enable the English to go on to Tripoli, and if they had arrived on the border of Tunis while Weygand was still in command in French Africa, Allied forces might now have stretched around the entire coast line of the African continent.

Moorehead points out also the vast ill luck which has followed General Sir Archibald Wavell. In every campaign in this war in which he has been engaged, political considerations have forced him to agree to throw away the fruits of victory just as they were ripening, or, as in the Far East, to fight a campaign under conditions of colonial politics and jealousies which made victory impossible. Concerning the decision to go to the help of Greece, Moorehead says:

> Neither Wavell in Cairo nor the War Cabinet in London alone was competent to decide. So Mr. Eden and Sir John Dill got in an aeroplane and flew to Cairo to thrash it out. They talked to Wavell, Cunninghame, Longmore. They flew to Ankara and sounded out Sarajoglou and the Turks; they went on down to Athens. Then they came back to Cairo well pleased with what they had seen and heard. General Smuts flew up from South Africa to give his advice. Little by little the opinion grew that we could risk this adventure, that we could organize another and better Gallipoli in the Balkans. It was not one man's opinion. It was certainly not Wavell's, but Wavell naturally was the man who would have to carry out the job.

And as always, in the background of these decisions (as in the recent negotiations with India) the English faced the necessity of pleasing American public opinion. "And finally America and the world could not fail to be impressed if we honored our pledge of help to the Greeks."

This book shows the Ethiopian campaign in its proper perspective in the battle of the Middle East. It was in fact prolonged only as a delaying action on the part of the Italians to try to keep as many British troops as possible from being freed for use in the western desert and Syria.

Like most keen observers who have been in parts of the world controlled by the Vichy government, Moorehead realizes the complete and basic pro-Axis feelings of most of the minions of the senile Marshal. In our dealings with Admiral Robert in the West Indies and with the Pétain regime in North Africa and Madagascar we have been all too apt to forget the Vichy brand of German perfidy as practiced in Indo-China, in French North Africa when supplies were sent to General Rommell in Libya, and in Syria by the Naziphile French administration.

Moorehead, who saw the British in action in the Middle East, as this reviewer did to a very much smaller extent, must be impatient with the childish anti-British whispering campaign in this country. He shows great admiration for the men and the leaders who barred the Axis from Islam, and looking back on it all, he would say with General Wavell, "We have had some setbacks, some successes." May American troops and generals acquit themselves as well in the months which lie ahead. PETER STEVENS

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IN BRIEF

INTIMATE VIRGINIANA: A CENTURY OF MAURY TRAVELS BY LAND AND SEA. Edited by Anne Fontaine Maury. Richmond: The Dietz Press. $3.50.

The first Maury in this book was a schoolmate of Madison, Monroe, and Jefferson, and a friend of Washington, who sent him to be United States consul in Liverpool in 1786. From then until now the family which produced the first naval oceanographer has sailed, written, and corresponded with famous people. The letters and diaries printed here include some from Jefferson, Madison, and others outside the family, as well as family papers. This volume is not for general readers, except Virginians, but historians and biographers will find it worth delving into for historical sidelights on the nineteenth century from Jefferson's day to Reconstruction.

DIRECTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE. By Philo M. Buck, Jr. Oxford University Press. $3.

The author disarms criticism to some extent by declaring that he has not set out to pick future immortals but the most typical representatives of contemporary families of ideas in literature. Even on this principle, each man would have his own candidates. Mr. Buck's are Santayana, Hauptmann, Pirandello, Gide, Proust, O'Neill, Tagore, Aldous Huxley, Hitler, Sholokov, T. S. Eliot, Romains, Mann. It is an important subject; the author has read widely and intelligently; and the book is well written. Curiously enough, it is not very stimulating. It is a little too leisurely and not very profound. It keeps on the safe side of its subject, so to speak. In short, it is academic.

THE GREEK POLITICAL EXPERIENCE: STUDIES IN HONOR OF WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE. Princeton University Press. $3.

This distinguished volume by fourteen classical scholars has been planned with a central theme rather than assembled in the usual miscellaneous fashion of seventieth-birthday tributes. In readable style it reviews Greek political evolution from early monarchy through democracy and the career of Alexander, with special chapters on tyranny, the ideal states of Plato and Aristotle, and other pertinent matters.

JAMES MADISON: THE VIRGINIA REVOLUTIONIST. By Irving Brant. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $4.50.

James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," lived for eighty-five years and filled the highest offices in the country. The present volume, the first of three projected, is a study of his formative years at home, at Princeton, and as a guiding spirit of the Revolution in Virginia. It closes with Madison's departure for Philadelphia in 1780 to enter the Continental Congress. In a leisurely style, with full documentation not only of Madison but of his place and time, Mr. Brant has produced a study resembling those of the old-fashioned genealogical biographers in its detailed approach but informed by up-to-date scholarship and balanced judgment.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Amazing Amazon. By Rose and Bob Brown. Modern Age. $3.

American Destiny: A Faith for America. By A. Powell Davies. Beacon Press. $1.50.

Go Down, Moses, and Other Stories. By William Faulkner, Random House. $2.50.

In Search of Sanity. By Andrew Shirra Gibb. Farrar and Rinehart. $5.

Marriage and Family Life. By Gladys Hoagland Groves. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.50.

Mr. Pan. By Emily Hahn. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.

Gracious Majesty. By Laurence Housman. Scribner's. $3.

Robert Alexander, Maryland Loyalist. By Jane Bassett Johnson. Putnam's. $2.50.

The Nature of Literature: Its Relation to Science, Language, and Human Experience. By Thomas Clark Pollock. Princeton. $3.

Raphael. Phaidon Edition. Oxford. $3.50.

Social Control Through Law. By Roscoe Pound. Yale. $2.

The Government of Labor Relations in Sweden. By James J. Robbins. North Carolina. $3.50.

New Trade Winds for the Seven Seas. By Alaric J. Roberts. J. F. Rowny Press. Santa Barbara. $2.75.

The New Order in Poland. By Simon Segal. Knopf. $3.

Criminology: An Attempt at a Synthetic Interpretation with a Cultural Emphasis. By Donald R. Taft. Macmillan. $4.50.

The Status System of a Modern Community. By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. Yale. $3.

The Song of Bernadette. By Franz Werfel. Viking. $3.

In Alaskan Waters. By Alfred Wolfe. Caxton. $3.

The Pennsylvania Germans. Edited by Ralph Wood. Princeton. $3.

The Catholic Pattern. By Thomas F. Woodlock. Simon and Schuster. $2.

DANCE

Flamenco, Spanish, and Spanish-American

CARMEN AMAYA is the real thing; she is pure gipsy, with tempestuous black hair, a red gash of a mouth, and a scrawny body that has the resilience and speed of an alley cat. Her art is *flamenco*—that ecstatic, tragic music and dance of the Andalusian gipsies. Composed of Eastern and indigenous Spanish elements, its strange resolution of tenderness and harshness, passion and subtlety is expressed in a tonal scale ranging from deep guttural notes to a thin, high-pitched wail. At once traditional and improvised, it is Dionysian in contrast to the Apollonian classic dance of Spain. In the latter fire and ice are balanced in a firm discipline. In *flamenco* they merge in a self-destructive ecstasy.

There is a bitter beauty about Carmen's slightest gesture. Her quality, like that of a dervish dancer, is one of abandonment to an inner impulse wholly identified with a traditional dance. Despite her fierce, positive gestures, she has no volition. She not only hypnotizes her audience, she is herself hypnotized. Her every gesture is a proclamation of living flesh and blood, of the personal-eternal. Her feet bite into the ground like small, quick animals driven by a devouring hunger. The supple back sweeps into low-arched turns, snapping back from the long, uncoiling gesture with sudden, impatient arrogance. Arms, legs, and torso are living fuel heaped in climax after climax on a fire that burns with unrelenting brilliance until the dance is over and the lights go out. This is the dance straight and hot from the bowels; as it is felt in the blood, not only of Carmen, but of the ancient gipsy race to which she belongs. *Flamenco* is as foreign to us in tradition as any art can be. Yet the intense emotions it arouses are familiar and profoundly stirring.

I only hope that Carmen does not become an "artiste." Unfortunately her manager apparently feels otherwise—which may explain the inclusion on recent programs of material so unsuited to her talents as El Amor Brujo. But even here Carmen's barbaric splendor and extraordinarily eloquent gesture emerge only slightly tarnished. Her most successful offerings, however, are the brief, characteristic ones—Ay! Que Tu, the Alegrias, and Fiesta in Seville. There is no point in grooming Amaya to be a

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second Argentina. What she is more than suffices. Even tricked up in the phony *flamenco* of a manager's dream, she is great stuff. But Carmen straight is better still.

Juan Martínez, who appeared in the Revue Iberica at the Theresa Kaufmann Auditorium of the Y. M. H. A. several weeks ago, although not in a class with Amaya, is a fine *flamenco* dancer. His style is incisive, his footwork sometimes brilliant, and his whole manner disdainfully impetuous, as it should be. Only when he takes a curtain call does his terpsichorean ferocity disappear in a shy, gentle smile and faintly self-deprecatory gesture. It seems to me that he would make a far better partner for Amaya than Antonio Triana, with whom she occasionally dances. Triana's over-slick technique and all-occasion grin have transformed the Spanish *zapateado* into a kind of Broadway tap. Sofia Novoa, who contributed several very beautiful Spanish songs to the program, sang with a poised, intimate charm, and effortless graciousness.

In a series of performances at the Shubert Theater some weeks ago, Argentinita presented her varied and extensive program of Spanish dances. And she has now, with great fidelity and artistry, added several Latin American numbers to her repertoire. The Viejitos, or Little Old Men, is as close to the original as any theatricalized folk material can be. The music and costumes are authentic, and although the choreography of the indigenous Mexican dance has been modified for recital purposes, its quality and general pattern are largely retained. Argentinita is a pleasant dancer in the somewhat restrained, classic style. A conscious and accomplished artist, she is smooth and subtle, and has an unassuming elegance. But she unfortunately lacks the glamour without which the Spanish dance is not quite Spanish, and though her programs offer enjoyment they provide no excitement.

To return to *flamenco,* if you feel that way about it, you should hear Villarino, an excellent Spanish guitarist and singer. He does a few numbers at the Casita in the Village, and turns up occasionally on small recital programs. I heard him a few weeks ago at one of the Coffee Concerts at the Museum of Modern Art, where he was the only noteworthy artist on an otherwise dull patchwork program of mediocrities—one of those pretentiously intimate affairs. He plays with feeling and restraint, and he knows the popular music of Spain.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

RECORDS

VICTOR'S April list offers one of Bach's finest works, the Sonata No. 3 for violin and clavier, played on the violin and piano by Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin (Set 887, $2.63). The long, sustained lines of the phrases of the opening Adagio are broken by the swells, the lilts, the rhythmic unsteadiness of Yehudi's playing—to say nothing of his lapse into *sotto voce* near the end; and his pace in the third movement Adagio is too fast for its proper effect. The two Allegros he plays more satisfactorily; and the mere physical sound of his tone is better—more compact and sweet—than it has been.

For those whose love for Brahms's chamber music I do not share there is the set (883, $4.73) of his Trio Op. 8 —an early work with late revisions. Artur Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann play very well together; and the sound of their performance on the records is excellent, except for some rattles —even with a heavy Astatic pickup— on two of the sides.

Of Brahms there are also two rarely heard songs for alto, viola obbligato, and piano: "Gestillte Sehnsucht" and "Geistliches Wiegenlied," sung by Marian Anderson, with Primrose playing viola and Rupp at the piano (Set 882, $2.63). "Geistliches Wiegenlied" is a setting of the Lope de Vega poem in the Geibel-Heyse "Spanish Song Book" that is the text of Hugo Wolf's wonderful song "Die ihr schwebet"; but in striking contrast to the agitation of the Wolf song is the quiet of Brahms's lullaby—a quite charming adaptation of an old Christmas song. "Gestillte Sehnsucht" I find less interesting. Both are beautifully sung, played, and recorded.

Weber's Sonata No. 1, the least interesting of his piano sonatas, is played by Arrau with admirable musical style and a brilliant technique that manifests itself mostly in the unobtrusiveness with which it disposes of the difficulties of the work. The recorded sound is good, except for rattles on the fourth side.

Victor's February sets of Walton's Violin Concerto, Shostakovitch's Sixth Symphony, and Liszt's Mephisto Waltz still have not arrived; and I am hoping that I won't have to judge these orchestral recordings by their reproduction on the phonographs in record stores.

Of Columbia's April releases I have received the new recording of Brahms's Second Symphony made by Weingartner with the London Philharmonic (Set 493, $5.78). This performance, like Beecham's in the older Columbia set, offers the straightforward statement of the work that I consider most effective —except for a departure from the Weingartner steadiness of pace, in the first part of the slow movement, that is so unusual for him that it strikes the ear. As for other differences, Weingartner's more deliberate pace is better for the first movement; Beecham's less headlong one is better for the last; and his performance has the characteristic Beecham sharpness of contour and accent. The sound of the Beecham performance on the records is clear, with good balance between treble and bass; that of the Weingartner is, of course, richer, smoother, and more spacious, but with the balance tipped markedly toward the bass.

I have also received Columbia's April set (495, $3.68) of the arrangement for symphony orchestra that Jerome Kern made of his "Show Boat" music for Rodzinski, who performs it with his Cleveland Orchestra. If it is all right to play a string of waltzes by Strauss at a symphony concert it is all right to play a string of equally engaging tunes from "Show Boat"; and then there is no need to justify it, as the accompanying notes do, by verbal distinctions without factual differences—no need, that is, to contend that when the tunes are strung together in the order in which they occur with the stage action, and the sequence is called a scenario and is scored for symphony orchestra, then the result is not a potpourri but a summary of the story in musical language and "a new form dictated by the elaborate resources of a symphony orchestra." (There is need, rather, of giving the story for those who, like myself, happen not to have seen either the stage or the screen version.) The performance is excellent; the recording is Columbia's best achievement—as beautiful in sound as the one of Mahler's First, but without its rattles or break-ups.

The Hargail Recorder Music Publishers have issued a set of two 10-inch discs ($2.63)—one (MW101) with five little English duets for alto recorders, the other (MW102) with a Sonata by Schickhardt for alto recorders and harpsichord. Those who play the recorder themselves may get more enjoyment from the music than I do, and will want to know that it seems to be played well by Alfred Mann and Anton Winkler (recorders) and Edith Weiss-Mann (harpsichord).

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

It's Time to Get Tough

Dear Sirs: I want to commend your attitude on the suppression of the anti-democratic pamphlets, magazines, and speeches of our fascists, whose primary aim is not freedom of speech and press to improve our democratic form of government but freedom to destroy it. As you said in your able rebuttal of Roger Baldwin's fear, we are fighting a war to survive, and liberties must be curtailed in order that we may use all our energies for winning the war; peace-time privileges and licenses must go by the board along with the slogan "business as usual."

It is lamentable that many of our educators and intellectuals, such as Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Robert Hutchins, Norman Thomas, Senator La Follette, Oswald Garrison Villard, and others, have so feared the effects of a war upon our economy that they became blind to the actual facts confronting us, and could imagine that pompous pronouncements would dissipate the danger of war. Such men have proved incapable of being true leaders of the liberal elements of our country. In my opinion, the acts of such bankrupt liberals have retarded our preparation for this war as effectively as the acts of a person in the pay of our enemies could have done. Possibly these men now see the error of their ways, but in my judgment they failed to serve properly during a critical period and thus defaulted on their obligations.

It is high time for us to get "tough" and do those things which are essential for winning this war, regardless of our peace-time rights.

DAVID WEINTRAUB

Houston, Tex., May 8

Attention Roger Baldwin

Dear Sirs: I have sent the following letter to the American Civil Liberties Union to explain why I am not renewing my membership.

I cannot support your attacks on the methods employed by the Administration in banning *Social Justice*. I can appreciate your contention that a government that acts against a dangerous minority today can likewise act against a defenseless minority tomorrow, and that any action taken must be one in which the minority's civil rights will be protected by the courts. *But* if the fascists got into power, all your impartial policies would be knocked into a cocked hat; as a matter of fact the Civil Liberties Union would be the first to feel the ax because its purposes and methods are dangerous to the functioning of the totalitarian state. Wake up, Mr. Baldwin, not to your moral responsibilities, which you bend backward in upholding—but to the stark realism of the present. Do not make the mistake of trying to save the withered tip of a small branch of the tree of liberty, when it is being attacked at the roots.

ALAN N. BROWN

Detroit, Mich., April 28

Mr. Bates Answers His Critic

Dear Sirs: Mr. Taylor's right to disagree with the military analysis contained in my article What's Right with Britain is indisputable. But he should not simplify his case by attributing to me views which are not expressed in that article and which I certainly do not hold. In his letter in your issue of April 25 he writes, "Mr. Bates believes that the 130 divisions in England, in addition to the Home Guard, must remain there for home protection." In astonishment I quote my own words, that "while the Britain of 1942, I believe, will have so far passed the mark of defense that it might open a new front, it cannot risk an engagement with the total German forces not occupied in Russia." That, surely, is explicit enough. Later Mr. Taylor says, "While an attack in the West may not, indeed, be possible at this time, Mr. Bates's figures tend to indicate the contrary." Exactly, they were intended to indicate the contrary, and define the limit of expectation. I confess surprise at Mr. Taylor's apparently wavering faith in his doctrine.

I shall not attempt to answer such unsupported assertions as "This tonnage ratio [of two and one-half tons of shipping per man for a Continental invasion] is obviously incorrect" except to say that the error is not obvious and that Mr. Taylor's daring, while admirable, does not provide ships. Nor, by the way, did I argue that Britain's tonnage lack was an insuperable bar to all aggressive action.

And I must protest against Mr. Taylor's distortion of my argument when he writes, "Instead of using the British army for the purpose of attack on the Continent—with American reinforcements—Mr. Bates recommends that additional forces be sent to Libya and Suez." I recommend nothing of the sort. Nor should I care to argue, as my critic appears to do, that the Mediterranean regions and the Continent may be considered alternative battlefields.

Permit me to summarize my views thus:

1. Britain's tremendous achievement, secured at staggering cost, is that it has passed the mark of adequate defense.

2. I believe that Britain has sufficient aggressive power to open, not a second front, for that exists and is preventing Hitler from throwing the whole of his army against Russia, but a new front, perhaps a plurality of them. These new fronts would need vast reinforcements later in order to administer the final blow.

3. I reject all arguments based merely on the belief that we must win victory in 1942 or never. They imply that the Soviets will collapse this summer unless the United Nations can engage the entirety of the German army not occupied in resisting the Red Army.

4. It is the consequence partly of geographic facts and partly of political ones over which the Churchill government has had no control that the greater part of the land fighting now falls to the Soviet Union. Therefore the other United Nations should guarantee recompense to Russia and aid in the post-war reconstruction of that country.

RALPH BATES

New York, May 4

"The Human Understanding Perplexes Itself"

Dear Sirs: Jacques Barzun's unhelpful review of I. A. Richards's twin books on April 25 provokes comment on several counts; but not because it is provocative. Mr. Barzun shows as little inclination to argument as the readers to whom he says the new "Republic" will not appeal. We might well enough borrow his own words to state his attitude to "How to Read a Page." "The way of arguing can hardly be made attractive to those who do not already feel some liking for the enterprise."

What does call for consideration is the position Mr. Barzun takes *between* the books he speaks of and those who might read them with profit. Easy reading of his complaints may leave the

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impression: (1) that only a man "aglow with pedagogical earnestness" would think everyone should read Plato; (2) that "How to Read a Page" was meant to be an easy book to read, and failed; (3) that Richards himself can't write, never mind read; that he has "no ear," inner or outer or both; (4) that he is furthermore a pedant.

Views on whether Plato has or has not "said the last word" on any subject may be arrived at only through reading him. Mr. Richards would like more people to do so, and thinks his text may help. Mr. Barzun replies that the "low-brow" will have a taste only for familiar ideas, never mind the vocabulary, and then refers to "Plato's Spartan regime, with class barriers," etc. Is he indulging himself in this little historical cliché to keep people from learning anything from Plato direct, and must we assume that a liking for new ideas and argument in writing cannot be started in those who haven't it already?

It seems strange that, in commenting upon hardness in reading, Mr. Barzun does not allude to what is said about it in "How to Read a Page." For instance: "It is the hard sentences and paragraphs which can do us good, as readers; our mental gums need strengthening. But the hardness must be of the right sort. . . ." "There is a common saying that what is written with difficulty is read with ease and another of the opposite effect. These seem as misleading as any such sayings."

And again, this time a sympathetic anticipation of Mr. Barzun's perplexities: "Most of the remedies, in fact, for feared obscurity are worse than the disease, and my explanations may well be harder to understand than the passage I am elucidating. No matter. It is the exercise in attending to its own doings which strengthens the reading mind."

The pronouncement on Mr. Richards's own style is perhaps not worth a comment. Mr. Barzun quite evidently sees no distinction between precision in the use of words and the pedantry of "correct usage." His reference to Butler as supplying the *definitive* reasons for contemporary speech-modes in translation without saying what they are is warning enough of this.

And as to "Francis of Verulam's Great Instauration," the best-known edition (Bohn, 1864) gives the book that title. There was no pedantry in quoting from it; only a reminder that the age which realized Bacon's dream thought of "mighty Verulam" so. "Francis of Verulam thought thus, and such is the method which he determined within himself, and which he thought

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it concerned the living and posterity to know," its opening reads, and the first statement of "The Announcement" that follows sounds a timely warning worth adding to Mr. Richards's own quotations: "The human understanding perplexes itself, or makes not a sober and advantageous use of the real helps within its reach, whence manifold ignorance and inconvenience arise."

CHRISTINE M. GIBSON

Cambridge, Mass., May 6

Bombard Dies Now!

Dear Sirs: You are absolutely correct in saying about Martin Dies, "If the Texan is to be stopped, laborites and liberals will have to organize now, not wait until a few weeks before his request for a new appropriation comes up next year." Citizens who wish to forestall the wasteful and obstructionist activities of Dies might be organized into units to be known as the "Martin Bombers"—the idea being to bombard both Dies and Congress with criticism of Dies's work.

HAROLD J. JONAS

New York, May 7

End Divided Allegiance!

Dear Sirs: I am addressing the following petition to the Secretary of State at Washington:

I respectfully petition that in the treaty of peace which will end the present war the United States shall demand, in lieu of such indemnities as it may be undesirable to insist on, universal recognition of the validity of naturalization.

We have too long acquiesced in the contention of certain powers—eminent among which have been Italy and, in very recent years, Germany—that allegiance to them had an inalienable quality, so that their former citizens or subjects, when they had been duly and in good faith naturalized as Americans, nevertheless remained subject to all the obligations and liabilities of their former allegiance. The coming treaty of peace will be a good time to end this scandal.

Some action for this purpose is demanded not only by the interests and self-respect of the United States but by consideration for the rights of man; for it is a right of man to choose his own political association, subject to the assent of those with whom he desires to associate himself, but not necessarily depending on the assent of those from whom he desires to dissociate himself.

When we permit American citizens to be held inescapably bound to the service of a foreign power whose allegiance they have voluntarily renounced, we are acquiescing in a form of slavery for United States citizens.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Ballard Vale, Mass., April 25

Broadcast by an Old I.W.W.

Dear Sirs: I am a patient at the State Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Salem, Ore. (R 5, Box 28). I have been here for six months and expect to remain indefinitely. I am an ex-member of the I. W. W. and would like to hear from some of my old friends and acquaintances. Would you oblige me by inserting this in your letter columns? I have no other way of broadcasting the fact that I am confined here.

KENNETH C. MACLENNAN

Salem, Ore., May 5

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